

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

EDITED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE AND UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, MANAGING EDITOR

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CONTENTS

PAGE

The Role of Niagara Falls in History, by Prof. C. O. Sauer	- 57
Committees of Public Information, 1863-1866, by Dr. E. E. Ware	- 65
The Government of England, by Prof. E. Kimball	- 68
European Neutrals and the Peace Conference, by Prof. L. M. Larson	- 71
Effects of the War on Foreign Trade, by Simon Litman	- 74
A Conspicuous Educational Failure, by Prof. E. Dawson	- 77
Suggestions for Teachers	- 80-87
Practical Economics in High Schools, by I. F. Nestor; Guiding Principles in American History Teaching, by H. B. Wilson; Supervised Study in Eighth Year History, by H. Farmer; Individual Instruction in History, by B. L. Pierce.	
Some British Reconstruction Views — Supplement	- 95

Notes from the Historical Field, 88; Book Reviews, edited by Prof. W. J. Chase, 89; Periodical Articles on Teaching History, listed by W. L. Hall, 93; Recent Historical Publications, listed by Dr. C. A. Coulomb, 94.

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In the fall of 1918 under the orders of the War Industries Board the special reduced rate had to be discontinued. In December, 1918, the financial support heretofore granted from several agencies, was withdrawn. In view of the latter fact, the publishers are unable to return to the former reduced rate; and they are forced to retain the single rate of two dollars a year for all subscribers.

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The Role of Niagara Falls in History

BY PROFESSOR CARL O. SAUER, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Environment supplies more than the casual stage to the drama of life; it assumes in some cases a leading, in others a supporting role. This is the basal principle of geography. As regards man, this principle may be verified and elaborated most satisfactorily by studying the relation of geography to history. Analysis of the operation of geographic factors through a considerable period of years affords the same assurance of conclusion that is derived from the "checking" of laboratory tests. A study in historical geography commonly pursues three lines of inquiry: (1) How have geographic influences affected the settlement and economic character of a region? (2) How and when were new possibilities and handicaps discovered in the environment? (3) How have different groups of people (or racial stocks) differed in their response to the same environment? It may thus be shown (1) that the history of a region has been affected at all times, but usually in varying degree, by its geography; (2) that different stocks vary in what may be termed geographic plasticity; (3) that certain geographic factors are continuously operative; (4) that others have come into play from time to time; (5) that some were called into action by the deliberate effort of man and some without such effort, and (6) that an individual geographic factor, as commonly defined, may be significant in very different ways at different historical periods. Niagara Falls furnishes a good illustration of the last of these theses. It also shows that an individual form of geographic significance, having once been developed, commonly does not disappear entirely, but may, after a time, diminish in relative importance, and thus become partially obscured.

The western end of Lake Ontario extends about fifty miles west of the eastern end of Lake Erie. The peninsula thus formed is the Niagara Peninsula, and is about twenty-five miles wide. Across its eastern end Niagara River discharges the waters from the upper Great Lakes into Lake Ontario. The level of Lake Erie is 326 feet above that of Ontario. Each lake lies in a smooth plain, with a line of cliffs or narrow belt of hills between, known as the Niagara Escarpment. The Niagara River, therefore, consists of three strongly contrasted parts (see map): (1) the upper navigable course at the level of the Erie plain, from Buffalo to Chippewa Creek; (2) the middle course, in which, by rapids and falls, the

descent from the upper to the lower plain is made; and (3) the lower navigable course on the Ontario plain. The second of these is divided again into three parts: (1) the rapids below the falls, lying in the six-mile gorge cut in the recession of the falls from their original position at the escarpment; (2) Niagara Falls; and (3) the rapids above the falls in which the waters of the upper river are accelerated to their great plunge. It is this middle course which has been historically most significant, and with which this paper is chiefly concerned. In the following sections the various forms of geographic significance are taken up in the historical order of their development.¹

I. *Food Supply.* In the days of Indian ownership, when there was almost no commerce and when tribal territories were not set apart by definite boundaries, the principal interest in Niagara Falls and its vicinity was due to the ease of securing food from the river below the falls. The earliest French visitors found settlements of the Neuter nation on both sides of the river.² Later, the Senecas and Mississagas established themselves here, probably attracted in part by the good fishing.³ This type of location for Indian villages was by no means uncommon. A well-known parallel case is that of the Indian settlements, chiefly Chipewyan, on the lower rapids of the Soo, still one of the famous fishing grounds of the country.⁴ Fishermen generally appreciate this type of location, whether it be the pool below a natural falls or at the base of a mill-dam. The

¹ The military campaigns in the Niagara region are not considered in this paper. Historical material concerning the Niagara region has been made unusually accessible through the labors of Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society. The publications of this society contain most of the source material on the region. They are referred to as P. B. H. S. In addition, Severance, "An Old Frontier of France," has been used liberally.

² "Jesuit Relations," I, 22; VIII, 304; XXI, 316.

³ The fishing was carried on in part immediately below the falls. Thus Peter Kalm (1750): "Just below the falls the water is not rapid, but goes all in circles and whirls like a boiling pot; which however doth not hinder the Indians going upon it in small canoes a fishing." (In Bartram's "Observations," 88.)

⁴ An early account is in the "Jesuit Relations," LIV, 129-131.

conditions involved, favoring fishing, include the following: (1) Fish pass up the river from the lake in large numbers. They find their passage blocked in part by the rapids, but finally, by the falls. Still persisting in seeking a way up stream, they gather consequently in numbers below such obstacles to their progress.⁵ (2) The extraordinary depth of the water below the falls, (3) its aeration by the cascade, and (4) the cool shade provided by the gorge, all tend to attract fish to this part of the river. (5) There are also numerous accounts of the destruction of life, both of fish and of land-animals, which had been swept over the falls and thus perished. Their carcasses became an important food supply to fish of the lower river. Champlain's map of 1632, made years before a white man is known to have seen the falls, records their existence from hearsay with the notation that "several sorts of fish are stunned in their descent."⁶ Statements regarding the destruction of animal life in this manner are made subsequently by Gallinée (1669), Hennepin (1678), La Hontan (1687), Bonnefons (1753), Barton (1798), who reports the air strongly tainted with the smell of dead fish, and Isaac Weld (end of eighteenth century).⁷

We have contemporaneous information of another type of food-supply. A reputable Swedish naturalist wrote in 1750: "In the months of *September* and *October*, such abundant quantities of dead waterfowl are found every morning below the Fall, on the shore, that the (French) garrison of the fort for a long time live chiefly upon them; besides the fowl, they find also several sorts of dead fish, also deer, bears, and other animals which have tried to cross the water above the fall; the larger animals are generally found broken to pieces."⁸ The importance of this supply may be overestimated, but the substance of the report is probably correct. Migrating water-fowl that frequented the reedy shores of the upper river may well have drifted along with the current until they found themselves trapped in the upper rapids and were carried over the falls. Neither the Indians nor the French garrison were over-nice in the choice of their food. With both a meagre larder was the rule, and not rarely they experienced periods of semi-starvation.

Frenchman and Indian alike thus profited by the food that was available at the falls. Even to-day the summer visitor to Niagara rarely fails to find fishermen at the quieter places of the river, some casting their lines within reach of the spray of the falls, into the same places where the Indians ventured in their canoes.

⁵ This fact was noticed as early as 1710, P. B. H. S., XV, 317.

⁶ "Jesuit Relations," XI, 315-6; Severance, "Old Front," Fr., I, 6.

⁷ P. B. H. S., XV, 13, 315, 292, 338, 396; Weld, "Travels," II, 124.

⁸ Loc. cit.; a similar statement is made by Sharan (1781), in P. B. H. S., XV, 381.

II. *Portage.* Indian lines of communication were established more commonly for hunting or war than for trade. The Iroquois tribes, living in western New York, used the Great Lakes for raiding expeditions, and carried their war canoes overland across the Niagara portage. It remained for the French, however, to develop the full significance of this portage. The first and principal seat of French colonization was the St. Lawrence Valley. From it they entered Lake Ontario and thus came to Niagara, with its absolute break in navigation. The upper Great Lakes could be reached only by Niagara or by a long and arduous series of portages between the Ottawa River, the Nipissing Lake, and Lake Huron. Of the two routes, the one by Niagara possessed almost every advantage. But the Niagara portage was more than a connection between the Great Lakes and Old Canada. "No study of the Niagara region in the days of the French is anything but fragmentary and inadequate if it fails to view the Niagara as a portion of a great thoroughfare which crossed the divide south of Lake Erie, and had as its main objective the posts of the Ohio Valley, the Illinois country and communication with Louisiana."⁹ To the French, therefore, the St. Lawrence Valley and Lake Ontario formed a corridor leading, through the gate of Niagara, to a vast interior realm that stretched from the forests of Lake Superior to the delta of the Mississippi and the interior slopes of the Appalachians.

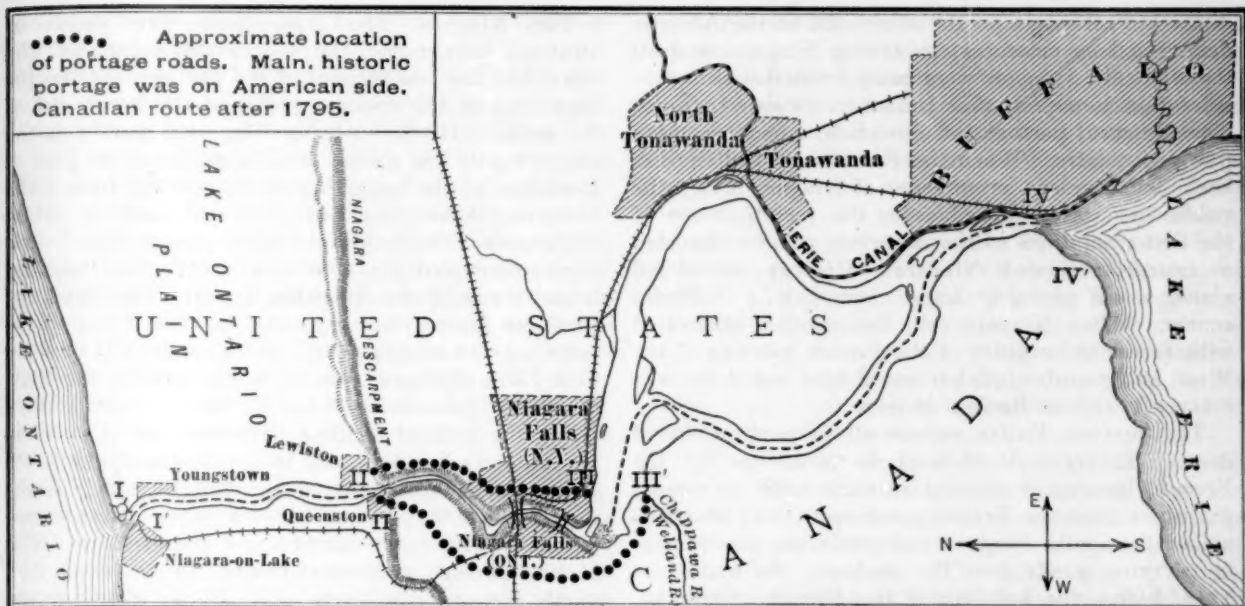
No plan of French colonial empire could neglect to hold strongly the Niagara portage. Its importance became apparent to the French at an extraordinarily early date, years in fact before there is record of their penetration to the falls. A letter from a Jesuit priest in 1641, only a quarter century after the first establishment of the French on the St. Lawrence, recognizes its strategic value.¹⁰ By 1673 Frontenac had become official sponsor for French control at Niagara by proposing to the ministry at Paris that a fort be built below the falls and a vessel on Lake Erie.¹¹ The list of noted Frenchmen who were associated in some way with this site is almost a roll of French leaders in the New World. La Salle, greatest pioneer of New France, was first to set up the French authority at Niagara. With his usual sure geographic vision and large initiative, he chose this place as a point of support for his magnificent project of a French inland realm. The palisaded storehouse of La Salle, built in 1678 on the site of Lewiston, was the first structure erected by civilized man west of Frontenac (Kingston, Ont.).

French and British rivalry at Niagara, which was to culminate in the expulsion of France from her mainland possessions in North America, began in 1685, less than a decade after La Salle's first establishment. The British held a line of approach to

⁹ Severance, loc. cit., I, 1.

¹⁰ Lallemant, in Severance, loc. cit., I, 19.

¹¹ Ibid., 32-5.



Sketch Map of Niagara River, showing geographically determined points of historical importance. I (mouth of river, American side) has been the site of Ft. Conty (1678), Denonville's Fort (1687), and since 1726 of Fort Niagara, first French, then British, and finally American. I' (Canadian side), Ft. George was built, later replaced by Ft. Masassauga. II (foot of escarpment and of rapids) was first La Salle's stockade, then Joncaire's magazine, and now is Lewiston. On the Canadian side (II') Queenston developed after the Revolution. Above the upper rapids (III) there have been in succession, French trading cabins, the French Fort Little Niagara and the British Fort Schlosser, to guard the upper end of the portage. Here Manchester, predecessor of the City of Niagara Falls, N. Y., was established. On the Canadian side (III') Ft. Chippawa marked the upper terminus of the later portage. At the head of the river (IV) the great city of Buffalo has grown up, whereas on the Canadian side (IV') is Fort Erie.

Niagara and the Great Lakes by the old Mohawk spill-way of the glacial period. British traders followed this line up the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, and across to Lake Ontario at Oswego. At Niagara the two expanding groups met inevitably. The contest began when eleven canoes of New York fur-traders went west by the Niagara portage in 1685. This and subsequent expeditions of a similar sort were considered by the French as trespassing on a route discovered and developed by French enterprise, and as a possible threat against the security of the portage. The British made an issue of having acquired the Indian title. In each case the economic possibilities of the interior fur trade and of permanent colonization were the real issues. Move and counter-move ensued. The game begun in fur-trade and diplomacy ended finally in war, and settled the mastery of the better part of the continent.¹² The relations of both British and French to the Iroquois Indian confederation were determined largely by the fact that the use of the portage was determined by the attitude of these tribes. Denonville asserted the might of French arms against them in 1687, and built a fort on the site of Fort Niagara, but was forced to abandon it the following year because of the freshly-aroused hostility of the Indians. Subsequently the French pursued a wiser, though slower,

course. Diplomacy attempted to gain what arms had lost. In the quarter century following Denonville's failure, both sides were engaged chiefly in cultivating the good-will of the Senecas and their confederated Iroquois. France was brilliantly represented by Joncaire and his sons, and on the British side Sir William Johnson gave the best part of his life to developing a British-Iroquois alliance. Gradually French relations with the Indians were bettered. By 1720 Joncaire was able to erect a block-house at Lewiston,¹³ and the French, who had traded by Niagara, in irregular fashion in the meantime,¹⁴ again made a show of authority at this place. In 1726-7 the French built the Stone Fort which may still be seen in the compound at Fort Niagara. After forty years of effort, the French were in military possession of the portage, in high hopes not merely of breaking up the British-American fur trade with the interior, but as well of consummating their plans for the control of the Mississippi Basin. Meanwhile, British and American concern increased at the danger of being confined to the Atlantic seaboard. For thirty years more Niagara was a leading topic of discussion in the northern colonies; colonial governors engaged in lengthy correspondence regarding it,

¹² Correspondence between Governor Dongan, of New York, and M. de Denonville; see Severance, I, 94-102.

¹³ This plan was proposed at Versailles in 1706; Severance, I, 158-9.

¹⁴ Ibid., 162-3.

kings and ministers on the other side of the Atlantic deliberated on measures concerning Niagara, and all the while the Iroquois were being treated with a consideration which no other Indian tribes ever received. The obscure portage of fur-traders had become a pawn of empire. When the French and Indian War broke out, the long prominence of Niagara before the public eye was responsible for the fact that one of the first resolutions of the American colonies directed an expedition against Niagara. Strategy, considered alone, would probably have counselled a different course. When Niagara fell, the colonies celebrated with fervor the capture of the French gateway to the West, and popular opinion would have voted the war a success without further decision.

The Senecas, Indian owners of the portage, found it easy to reconcile themselves to its use by the French, because it secured to their tribe occasional gratuities from the French government, and also furnished them with frequent and profitable employment in carrying goods over the portage. As early as 1718, before the building of the French storehouse, ten cabins of Senecas were supported "by carrying the goods of those who are going to the upper country some for mitasses (leggings), others for shirts, some for powder and ball, whilst some others pilfer; and on the return of the French, they carry their packs of furs for some pelfry."¹⁵ Soon there were Indian settlements at both ends of the carry.¹⁶ By 1730 the conveying of goods had become a sufficient business for the institution of a definite tariff.¹⁷ Kalm reports in 1750 "200 Indians, most of them belonging to the Six Nations, busy in carrying packs of furs, chiefly deer and bear, over the carrying-place. You would be surpriz'd," he continues, "to see what abundance of these things are brought every day over this place."¹⁸ An Indian gets 20 pence for every pack he carries over, the distance being three leagues." From time to time troops and supplies for the posts in the interior were taken over the portage, and then labor was at a high premium.¹⁹ For half a century the post of Detroit was thus dependent on the Niagara portage for its connections with the outside world.²⁰

The portage early developed into a well-defined road, described in 1750 as level, broad, fine, and smooth.²¹ It extended from Lewiston to the upper end of the rapids, and is still known as the Portage Road. Carts, oxen, and horses were introduced to facilitate the labor of the Indians.²² The only difficulty lay in the ascent of the escarpment at Lewiston. Here mechanical means of hoisting were introduced, apparently a tramway operated by cables.²³

The Niagara River possesses four points of strategic importance, the source and mouth of the river, and the two termini of the portage, that is, the beginning of the upper rapids and the lower end of the gorge. La Salle, being interested merely in the conveying of his goods, established his main post at Lewiston, at the beginning of the portage from Lake Ontario. Above the falls he built another cabin. These two sites inevitably were chosen first. Joncaire reoccupied the Lewiston site for his trading-house,²⁴ named the *Magazin Royal*. The town of Lewiston later grew up around the lower end of the portage. At its upper end, the French built in 1750 Fort Little Niagara, soon to be replaced by the British Fort Schlosser. Both of these were located above the earliest landing, which is still known as Frenchman's Landing, and is now at the upper limits of the park. Less current and better landing facilities dictated this removal for a short distance upstream of the upper terminus of the portage. The historic portage of Niagara lies on the American side, partly because the route was shorter than on the Canadian side, and partly because it was on the near side for vessels on Lake Ontario. Military, rather than commercial reasons, were responsible for the fortification of the mouth of the river, and much later, of its upper end. After the Niagara River became a boundary, these features were duplicated on the Canadian side. A portage road was opened from Queenston, opposite Lewiston, to the mouth of Chippewa Creek (or Welland River). The settlement and storehouses at the upper end of this road were guarded by Fort Chippewa.

The opening of the Erie Canal to Buffalo virtually eliminated the American portage, as it supplied an all-water route that removed the necessity of shipment via Oswego and Lake Ontario. Canada has remained partially dependent upon shipments between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, but has replaced the portage by the Welland Canal. Lately the old towns of Lewiston and Queenston have experienced a partial restoration of their portage significance through the trade that has developed between Toronto and Niagara Falls and Buffalo. Toronto steamboats ply regularly to Queenston and Lewiston, and steam and electric railroads complete the connection with the falls and Buffalo.

III. *Part of International Boundary.* The first claim to the Niagara as a boundary was set up by the British. For the colony of New York nature had set no western boundary short of this line, and to an expanding people, needing room for growth, this became the least limit that could be tolerated. For the French this would have meant the cutting of their interior communications, or at least sharing them with an uncomfortable neighbor. The French inevitably asserted the political unity of the Niagara Valley, the Anglo-Americans as stoutly held to the river as boundary line. At that period, the opposing ideas were

¹⁵ Memoir, in Severance, I, 181.

¹⁶ Ibid., I, 264.

¹⁷ Ibid., I, 287.

¹⁸ Loc. cit., 82.

¹⁹ Severance, II, ch. 21.

²⁰ Severance, I, 202-3.

²¹ Bonnacamp, "Jesuit Relations," LXIX, 159.

²² Izard (1765), in P. B. H. S., XV, 343; Porter, in Rep. Commissioners, Niagara F., X, 62.

²³ Severance, I, 287.

²⁴ P. B. H. S., XV, 322.

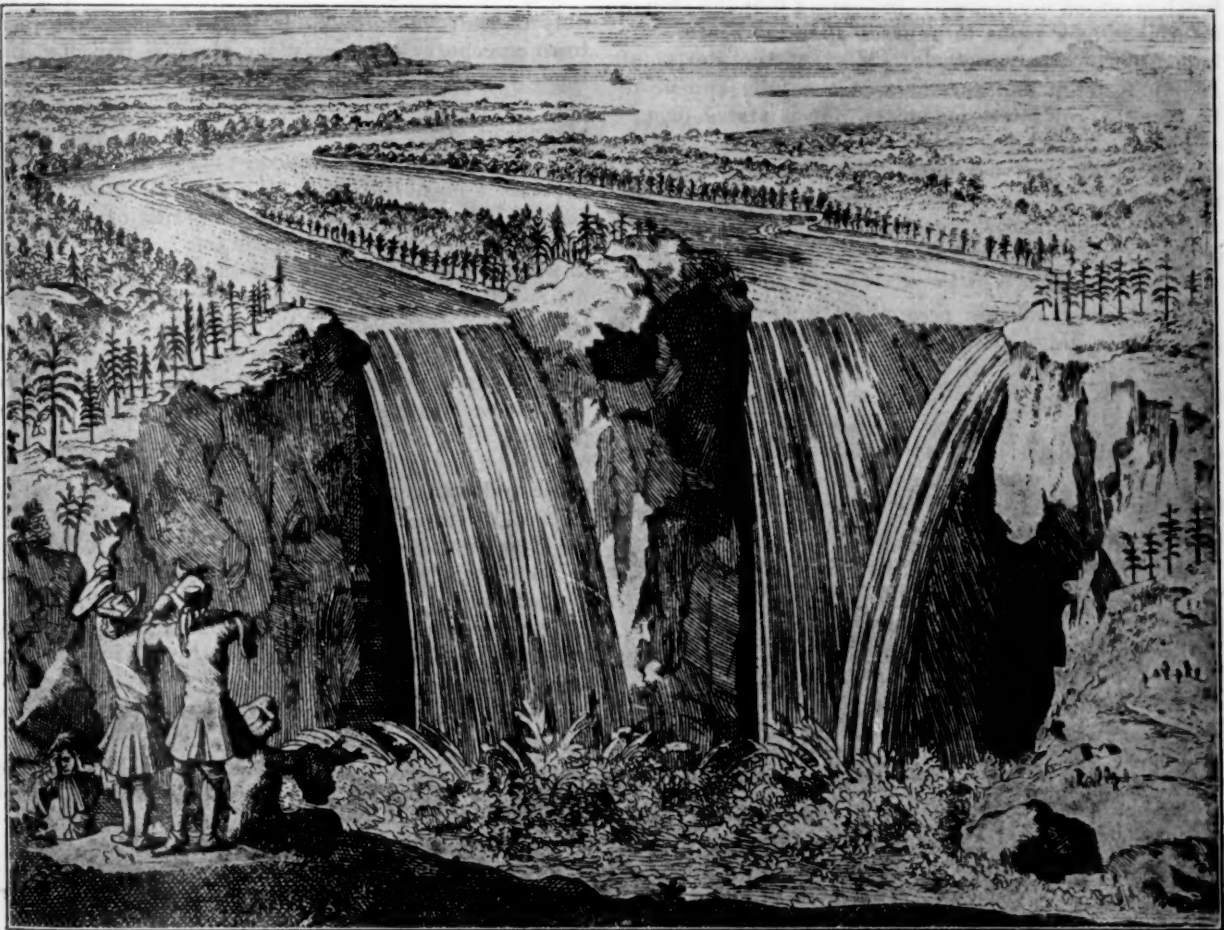
probably irreconcilable, and helped to force the solution by test of arms.

The close of the Revolution found the British government much in the same position in which the French had been. American expansion down the slopes of the Appalachians could take place readily with the Great Lakes constituting the northern boundary. Canada, however, would be seriously weakened by having the powerful American neighbor across the narrow straits of the Great Lakes. But as the American arms prevailed, so did the American claims, and the Niagara became a part of the international frontier. It is significant, however, that in spite of treaty agreement, the American side of the river was not evacuated until 1796, the British continuing to hold the fortifications meanwhile and employing the old portage.

In some ways the Niagara shares the disadvantages of river boundaries, in other ways it is better than most rivers. In its navigable portions it is readily crossed and facilitates intercourse. Also, at the time of establishing the boundary there was an important trade along the river. Its middle course,

however, constitutes a perfect barrier, that restricted the necessity of defence to the upper and lower courses, and military actions have been confined virtually to these sections. The importance of the portage to the British made this one of the most vulnerable points of Canada in the War of 1812. The presence of the falls necessitated the maintenance by each belligerent of a separate fleet on the upper lakes, and gave Perry the opportunity, by a single victory, to secure control of the Great Lakes region west of Buffalo. Subsequent to this war the strategic significance of Niagara was much reduced by the construction of the two canals. One of the important arguments advanced for the Erie Canal was that it would supply direct communication with the Great Lakes country and serve in its defense.

In the century of good feeling that has passed since the last war, strategic considerations have lost most of their importance, but the fact that the falls constitute part of an international boundary has raised other problems. The admittance of sight-seers to both sides of the river has been facilitated by the informal suspension of most of the rules of



The first, and one of the most interesting pictures of the Falls, and the view by which they became known all over Europe. From Hennepin's "A New Discovery," London, 1698.

customs and immigration inspection. A greater difficulty has been the control of power development from the falls. The conservation of Niagara Falls as an international problem required the effective co-operation of both governments, which has lately been secured.²⁵ It is peculiarly appropriate that the place, where two great governments have demonstrated the possibilities of co-operation, should have been selected in 1914 for the Mediation Conference of American States in furtherance of international conciliation.

IV. *Scenic Attraction.* The elemental power and beauty of Niagara Falls needed no refinement of taste for its appreciation. The existence of this natural wonder was known to Indian tribes far removed from the falls. The French heard about it from Indians on the lower St. Lawrence for decades, possibly for a century, before it was visited by white men. Vague allusions to such a cataract appear in French writings and maps at a time when they had explored little more than the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cartier may have heard of it in 1534.²⁶ Champlain probably alluded to it in 1604, and it is mentioned on a map of 1609.²⁷ Thereafter this second-hand information gradually grows more definite, and a picturesque touch is added occasionally, indicating that the Indian informant took pains to impress upon his hearers the immensity of the spectacle. Most of the stories of Indian worship and sacrifices at the falls appear to be creations of later romancers. It is stated on excellent authority that Goat Island, situated between the two falls, was not only a burying-ground, but a place of sacred ceremonies.²⁸ The Indian's religion was primarily nature-worship. Where, then, could he do reverence more fittingly to the Great Spirit than at this manifestation of the majesty of natural forces?

The earliest written account of an eye-witness is by the friar Hennepin, in his "New Discovery," first published in 1683. In somewhat exaggerated form it set forth the wonders of this scene in the American wilderness. The volume was soon translated into various languages and as widely read in Europe. This publicity gave to Niagara an early celebrity on the other side of the Atlantic. Other French accounts followed in fairly quick succession, most of them abounding in elegant and spirited phrases in praise of the scene. In 1721 a number of distinguished Frenchmen from Montreal paid Niagara the first visit that was undertaken solely out of the desire to behold the great spectacle.²⁹

In the latter part of the eighteenth century visitors began coming overland from the settlements of New York and from other parts of the Atlantic seaboard. Kalm (1750), Izard (1765), and Crèvecoeur (1785) are some of the chroniclers of note belonging to this period. In 1799 it was said of a road that

had been developed from the Genesee River to Niagara Falls: "This road was used so much last year by people on business, or by those whom curiosity had led to visit the Falls of Niagara, that a station was fixed at the Big Plains to shelter travelers."³⁰ Settlement was slowly pushing westward in New York, and year by year shortened the trip through the unoccupied parts. By 1810 Niagara had been joined to the seaboard by continuous settlements. Thus access to the falls was gradually made easier and visitors became more frequent. Goat Island, which had been used at first as a sheep pasture, was made into a pleasure resort in 1817.³¹ The opening of the Erie Canal stimulated visits to the falls to a remarkable extent, and a trip to Niagara soon became a favorite diversion in the East. Frontier taverns gave way to rather primitive resort hotels,³² and villages developed on both sides of the falls, Manchester on the American, and Clifton on the Canadian side.³³ When railroads were built, Niagara immediately became one of their favorite excursion points, and many visitors came not only from the East, but from North and South, and finally from the West.

For years the annual number of visitors has probably exceeded a million. If the average American in town or country takes only one pleasure trip in a lifetime, its destination is likely to be Niagara Falls. It has a place on the itinerary of the tourist from abroad; it is the goal of the conventional honeymoon trip, the meeting-place of conventions, of secret and non-secret organizations, the vacational Mecca especially of the middle classes. Its period of exclusiveness is past a century since, but it has won a place of affection in the hearts of millions, who have saved their dollars for the summer excursion to Niagara, traveled in dusty chair cars, eaten their lunches on the lawns of the park, and returned home laden with glass transparencies and other tokens of the falls, and memories to be cherished for a lifetime. No place in America has been more written about. Extensive bibliographies could be made of it in fields of prose and poetry, of science and belles lettres. It is, indeed, incomparably the greatest scenic wonder of the New World, most visited and best known, familiar in its classic profile to virtually every school child in the land.

The popularity of the place stimulated many kinds of money-making enterprises. In 1829 a promoter of amusements discovered that a show would enhance the too chaste attractions of the falls, and 3,000 people gathered for the carnival.³⁴ The owners of the land adjacent to the falls accumulated wealth from admission fees and leases. For years the falls could not

²⁵ See below, under Power Development.

²⁶ Porter, in Rep. Com. Niag. F., X.

²⁷ Severance, I, 4, 19-20.

²⁸ Porter, in Rep. Com. Niag. F., XVI, 93.

²⁹ Severance, I, 211.

³⁰ Williamson, in P. B. H. S., XV, 399.

³¹ Porter, in Rep. Com. Niag. F., XVI, 108.

³² Arfwedson, U. S. and Canada in 1832, 312; Anon (1827), in P. B. H. S., XV, 36.

³³ Arfwedson, loc. cit., 324; Buckingham, America (1841), II, 512-3.

³⁴ Stone, in P. B. H. S., XIV, 247-8.

be viewed from any spot on the American side without paying admission. Side-shows sprang up and became numerous and noisy. A flourishing industry in souvenirs developed, ostensibly carried on at first by the Indians, who still lingered in the vicinity. Perhaps the first recorded protest against the desecration of the site was made in 1834.³⁵ A writer of 1859 inveighed against the "disgustingly obtrusive civilization that crawls over its sides."³⁶ The proposal by Barnum to make Niagara Falls a circus ground was realized, though not by himself. The barker and trickster possessed the ground. Men came to admire, and went away disgusted. Periodicals commenced giving space to able articles that urged: "Save Niagara!" The slogan was directed first, not against power development, but against the vulgar "amusement" trappings. Petitions, subscribed to by some of the most prominent men in the country, were submitted to the state legislature. In 1879 the Governor of New York proposed the establishment of a state reservation. A committee, appointed to investigate, reported the falls without a summer population because of annoyances, confirmed the rapid destruction of the forest that once framed the falls,

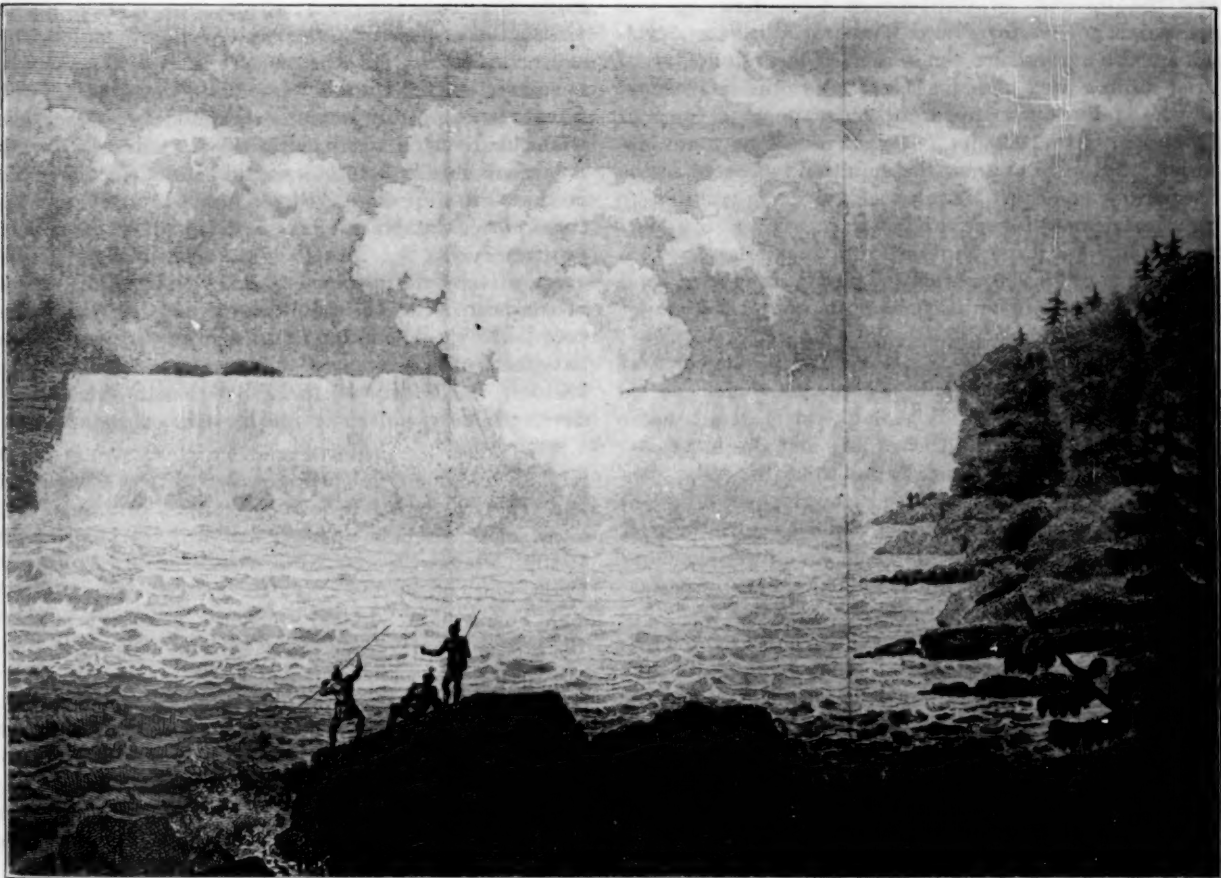
and urged speedy action. In 1883 the legislature made appropriation for the purchase of the site, and in 1885 the State Reservation at Niagara Falls was inaugurated, under the declaration that these lands "shall forever be reserved by the State for the purpose of restoring the scenery of the Falls of Niagara to and preserving it in its natural condition; they shall forever be kept open and free of access to all mankind, without fee, charge, or expense to any person for entering upon, passing to or over any part thereof." Thus was formed the first public reservation of the country, secured by purchase. In harmony with this declaration, the American park has been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition, and has been kept as free as possible from artificial adornment. Ontario followed in 1887 by establishing Queen Victoria Park, laid out on a rather formal pattern. The American park contains 412 acres, the Canadian 734,³⁷ a sufficient area to safeguard to the public the immediate environs of the falls.

*V. Power Development.*³⁷ The energy developed by Niagara Falls is estimated at about 4,000,000 horse-power, of which about three-fourths are actually available. The site is almost ideal for power de-

³⁵ P. B. H. S., XV, 45.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁷ 59th Congress, 1st Sess., Sena. Doc. 242.



View showing Indians spearing fish below the Falls. From Isaac Weld's "Travels," London, 1800.

velopment. The flow of the river, as the outlet of a large lake, is subject to extraordinarily low variations. Its mean discharge is given at 222,400 cubic feet per second, and the minimum at 180,800. The water, flowing out of Lake Erie, is nearly free from sediment. Added to these advantages are those of great volume, great fall, and stable channel. The power, if all utilized, would be sufficient to make Niagara Falls the greatest single industrial center of the continent.

The power possibilities of the falls were unavailable until modern methods of generating hydro-electric power were perfected. The vast momentum of the falling water made the use of the old water-wheel out of the question. There remained, however, for the earlier period the utilization of the upper rapids, which have, on the American side, a descent of forty-six feet. Here the rapid water and level ground adjacent to a little-changing river invited the early building of water-mills. According to credible tradition, one or more saw-mills were built here in the French period. Crevecoeur, in 1785, reported a saw-mill on the upper rapids, and Enys in 1787, referring probably to the same mill, mentioned an "old saw-mill."³⁸ The latter locates also on the Canadian side "at the head of the rapids a lately built grist and saw-mill." The establishments along the Niagara, and the demands of shipping on Lake Erie, created an early demand for sawed lumber. With the development of agriculture the second pioneer industry of grist-milling was added. Gradually the settlement at the falls outstripped the older portage town of Lewiston. By 1829 its "several mills and manufactories" began to express the ambition indicated in the temporary name of Manchester that was applied to the American Niagara Falls.³⁹ A visitor in 1841 enumerates "a large papermill on Goat Island, which makes about 10,000 reams of paper annually; and there are some saw-mills, flour-mills, and a hat manufactory on the bank."⁴⁰

In 1881 the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company began to distribute electric power generated from its canal, which took water from the upper end of the rapids and discharged it into the river some distance below the falls. By 1894 eight companies on the American side had been authorized to take large, and in some cases indefinite, quantities of water from the river for power development.⁴¹ Capital had been quick to realize the industrial possibilities and secured franchise after franchise of almost priceless value through the New York legislature. Again the appeal: "Save Niagara!" was voiced, and soon, with increasing urgency, for the crisis this time was far greater than before. Two hostile camps formed. In the one were those who believed that the material benefits to be derived from power

development were greater than the spiritual values that belonged to the great cascade. Others saw merely the opportunity to secure large and lasting profit from cheaply gotten franchises. Their opponents held that Niagara belonged to the American people, and that the enrichment of the neighboring cities could not offset the loss to the country at large through the desecration of the famous spectacle. The sentiment of the vicinity, especially in Buffalo, in so far as it expressed itself in effective effort, was in favor of industrial exploitation. The sentiment for scenic conservation, however, became nation-wide. The New York legislature reflected in a measure the narrower local sentiment, and had authorized by 1906, together with the province of Ontario, almost unlimited diversion. By that year twenty-seven per cent. of the average discharge of the river, or one-third of the lower-water discharge, had been assigned to companies which had undertaken work, and others had been chartered which had not entered upon the work of diversion. In 1906 the federal government, under the Burton Act, assumed control. The jurisdiction over the river was transferred to the Secretary of War on the affirmation of its frontier character, and the decision that the interruption of navigation by the rapids and falls did not destroy the status of the Niagara River as a navigable stream, in particular as diversion from the river affected navigation on the Great Lakes.⁴² With the assertion of supervisory power by the nation, the conservation of the falls became virtually assured. In 1910, by treaty with Great Britain, the maximum amount of water that could be diverted was fixed at 20,000 cubic feet on the American side and 36,000 on the Canadian side. The is taken to represent "the danger limit if the picturesqueness of Niagara as a wonder of nature is to be preserved."⁴³ The struggle regarding power diversion is by no means terminated, but the principle of the best use of the falls for the greatest number of people is established. Both parties to the contest have been fairly treated. The abstraction of water has left the beauty of the falls unimpaired. Power development is sufficient for large-scale industries.

The power generated has stimulated largely industrial development in adjacent portions of New York and Ontario, and therefore the growth of cities. The cities most directly affected are Buffalo (423,715 in 1910), Niagara Falls, New York (30,445), Niagara Falls, Ontario (9,248), North Tonawanda (11,955), and Tonawanda (8,290). There were invested in 1914 "in the development of power above the Falls of Niagara in which the American people are interested probably sixty millions of money. On the American side of the Falls, depending directly upon the power generated, . . . probably fifty millions more" are invested.⁴³ There is still opportunity for increased production of hydro-electric power. On the basis of eighteen horse-power per cubic foot as

³⁸ P. B. H. S., XV, 350, 364, 368.

³⁹ Stone, in P. B. H. S., XIV, 249.

⁴⁰ Buckingham, loc. cit., 512-3.

⁴¹ Rep. Com. Niag. F., XI, 62-7.

⁴² 62d Congress, 3d Sess., House Doc. 1488.

⁴³ 63d Congress, 2d Sess., House Doc. 990.

generated by the Hydraulic Power Company, the total diversion authorized would represent slightly over a million horse-power. This is truly a magnificent industrial resource, especially in view of its permanence. The industries attracted by the power from the falls are of the most varied nature. Conspicuous among them are numerous large chemical works, especially such as are dependent upon electrolysis and the electric furnace. The carbide, graphite, and carborundum industries of the latter type, and the alkali and aluminum plants, are most widely known.

The Niagara Falls region has been profoundly affected by the changing values of its geographic opportunities. Significant to the Indian, primarily, because of the local food supply, after 1678 the port-

age around the falls became the dominant fact in local history to 1796. In this year the British forces evacuated the eastern bank of the river, and it then became in fact as well as in name part of an international boundary line, temporarily of high strategic importance. With the building of the Erie Canal in 1825 its scenic attractions took first rank in the growth of the region. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century industrialism attempted to secure control of this, the greatest power site of the continent. The contest between the champions of its industrial use and those of its scenic integrity resulted in the expansion of federal and international control over the falls, with a fair compromise, which respects both groups of interests.

Committees of Public Information

1863-1866

BY EDITH E. WARE, PH.D., SMITH COLLEGE.

That there was sedition in the North during the war between the States is quite generally remembered, but what was done to cope with the disaffection is less well known.

We easily recall the fact that Copperheadism took advantage of the lack of military success to advance various propositions for peaceful settlement of the war. We also remember that insistent outspoken criticism of the administration for beginning the war and for the methods of its continuance became so well disseminated that Lincoln was restrained from pursuing a consistently aggressive policy such as was indispensable to its speedy or successful conclusion. And, what is more, it was true that this consequent apparent lack of a definite policy gave rise to a conviction, even among the loyal, that the president was weak and unequal to the situation. Anti-administration forces, we know, had become well organized by 1863, and, through the press and other publicity methods, were influencing Northern opinion toward lukewarmness for its cause, toward a questioning of the justice of coercion, and toward a reversal of the policy of the government. But later events show that this propaganda was of no avail, for the policy of the government was not reversed, the administration was sustained, and the war was brought to a successful conclusion. Yet the factors other than military that contributed to this result are frequently unknown or forgotten.

It was obvious to the loyal observer in 1863 that something must be done to counterbalance the numerical strength and growing influence of the malcontents. But that was not the era of organizations, which could direct their energy into new channels or offer their services to the government. Nor could the administration authorize the education of a part of its constituency to its point of view, it could only act as far as the "popular will" would permit. Con-

sequently, unofficial loyal individuals, conscious of the need, voluntarily undertook to meet the emergency.

In New York City, on February 13, a number of prominent citizens, among whom Francis Lieber was a leading spirit, met together and formed the Loyal Publication Society of New York.¹ This organization drew up a resolution, which, as amplified later, read as follows:

"Resolved and declared, that the object of the Loyal Publication Society is, and shall be, to publish and distribute tracts, papers and journals, of unquestionable loyalty, throughout the United States, in the cities and in the country, in the army and navy, and in hospitals; thus to diffuse knowledge and stimulate a broad national patriotism, and to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion by the extinction of its causes, and of the preservation of the integrity of the nation by counteracting the efforts of the advocates of a disgraceful and disintegrating peace. . . ."

A month later, on March 10, a small group met together in Boston and formed the New England Loyal Publication Society. This had no connection with, no inspiration from the New York organization. It was designed to carry on, on a more extensive scale, the work John Murray Forbes had been doing privately. This one man, with the aid of his secretary, had for months been distributing copies of editorials, and leading articles which had appeared in loyal journals; he had sent these newspaper clippings to the army (with Governor Andrews' consent) and to prominent individuals who, it was thought, might profit by their perusal. In order to carry out on a larger scale this method of increasing the circulation of pro-administration articles, Forbes, as early as

¹ Collections of all the pamphlets of the Loyal Publication Society of New York are in the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library.

July, 1862, had urged upon a prominent lawyer of New York, William Curtis Noyes by name, the formation of a "committee of correspondence upon the vigorous prosecution of the war." As this suggestion was not acted upon, and as the need for the dissemination of loyal literature was greater than ever, Forbes appealed to a number of his friends in Boston to assume the work that had far outgrown the scope of individual management. This group was confident that if the people knew the truth, as they did, the people would think as they did, and that Lincoln then would not only have the backing he needed in order to pursue a firm policy, but that they might even anticipate him and demand a policy of action which would speedily save the nation. Inspired by this confidence they took up the task of public information and planned the work of the Loyal Publication Society of New England.

This society confined itself to the distribution of broadsides.² In form they had the appearance of part of a column of a newspaper reprinted on one side of a sheet of paper large enough for ample margins. In substance they were for the most part (following the practice of Forbes), copies of excellent articles which had appeared in leading dailies such as the *New York Evening Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, or the *Boston Advertiser*; they included various items of information such as reports of government officials, comments, friendly and unfriendly, of the English press, news of the experiment in the cultivation of cotton by free negro labor in the Sea Islands, or notes on sound finance; but perhaps the most important were the articles in the form of editorials written by Charles Eliot Norton. The following letter will show the deliberateness and definiteness of their procedure. John Murray Forbes to Charles Eliot Norton [editor], December 29, 1863: "I wish you could elaborate the above idea about recruiting our army—Stanton opposes it so we must make public opinion."

The broadsides thus carefully planned were sent to individuals and societies, but principally to the editors of country newspapers. The theory was this: the ordinary country weekly or daily, even, had but few exchanges, and was glad of good material for its front page; moreover, its readers seldom saw other papers, so that these articles might be copied with impunity. The ordinary country editor, furthermore, was often at a loss for an editorial and was glad to use these that came on the broadsides. All this was made possible because the society asked no recognition. The plan was simplicity itself. The method was individualistic, casual, voluntary in the extreme. Nevertheless, the scheme was very effective. The New England Loyal Publication Society practically edited or helped to edit hundreds of newspapers throughout New England.

Yet, what is more, this small group of men had the

² There are two collections of the broadsides, the one in the Boston Public Library, the other in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

satisfaction of seeing every one of their policies realized. They preached union first, last and all the time; they urged emancipation as a military necessity (not because of their interest in abolition), for it was the war that must be won and the union that must be preserved. To this end, therefore, they urged the enlistment of colored soldiers. From time to time, but especially after the war was over, they advocated equal civil rights and universal manhood suffrage for the freedmen because they believed such to be the fundamental principles and guarantees of justice. It is thus quite plain that the society championed strong measures, and advocated a firm and direct policy. It is also clear that when they began Lincoln was hedged by misunderstandings, that while they worked a public opinion developed which permitted, yea, encouraged him to act, and that in the end their purposes were realized. In consequence they and their friends had and have the satisfaction of believing that the New England Loyal Publication Society helped materially in the preservation of the union.

The methods of the New York Society were very different, different as was New York from New England. First, the former was larger in personnel and had a very definite organization, with by-laws, a president, a treasurer, a secretary, and three committees, namely, finance, publication, executive, comprising twenty-one persons in all; while the New England broadsides were edited by one man, Charles Eliot Norton, with occasional suggestions from John Murray Forbes and an executive committee, and occasional assistance from James B. Thayer (later professor in Harvard Law School). Second, the New York society distributed pamphlets almost exclusively, while the other manifolded leading articles of the loyal press. Third, it did everything on a larger scale, for instance, in 1864 it sent its publications to every state east of the Mississippi and north of Richmond, to the army and navy, to military hospitals and to Europe. In that year it distributed 470,000 documents (7,000 to Europe), at a cost of \$11,793.23; while the New England group sent out about fifteen hundred broadsides twice a week at an annual cost of \$3,980.87. Fourth, though the purposes of both were in general the same, the New York society attacked special issues in special localities, and addressed special constituencies as more remote New England had no occasion to do.

Its very first pamphlets show both the scope and character of its publications and the extensive circulation that was assumed for them. No. 1 was entitled, "The future of the North-West in connection with the scheme of reconstruction without New England. An address to the people of Indiana." It was an argument against one device of the peace-at-any-price men. It showed that peace and union between the South and the Northwest would give the southern states a controlling majority in the congress; that the elimination of New England would make sure the repeal of the Ordinance of 1787 to which the Northwest owed not freedom only, but a

social and commercial prosperity far outstripping that of any slave-tilled state. This was followed by "The Echoes from the Army or What the Soldiers say against the Copperheads." Our soldiers included eight from Illinois, four from Indiana, five from Ohio, one from Tennessee, two from Connecticut. These two topics were repeated ten times under different titles.

A method frequently used by way of variation was to quote extracts from southern or copperhead journals to show the misinformation and absurd ideas they really held concerning the North. Or some southerner was quoted, as, for example, Alexander H. Stephens in opposition to secession, November 14, 1860, in order to show that the South, not the North, was responsible for the war. This particular topic, the causes of the war, was the subject of four papers. But its importance merited fewer articles than did emancipation, which, however, was not mentioned until pamphlet No. 22, after four arguments had been fired at the peace-at-any-price men and after copperheadism had been pretty thoroughly attacked. Emancipation was argued (in six pamphlets), first as a military necessity, and second as an indispensable prerequisite to any permanent union after the war, for the union could not continue half slave and half free.

The above program addressed to and quoting Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, as well as New York and the *Atlantic Monthly*, would seem to be enough for one year. But not so. The members of the society looked at the conflict from a world perspective, and in this first year they published two articles by Edouard Laboulaye. In this connection they also revealed the fact that they were conscious of the need of addressing the adopted citizens of the North, for pamphlet No. 41, "Réponse de Laboulaye à la Ligue Loyale et Nationale de New York," was printed in French and German as well as English. Indeed, early among the publications, No. 19, in fact, there was one entitled, "Einheit und Freiheit," and another was composed of two letters addressed by an Irish officer in the northern army, to the editors of the *Dublin Irishman* and the *Citizen* (explaining that "the outbreak of the South against the Union is the conspiracy and outbreak of insolent pretension, lawless ambition and lust of power"). Moreover, they did not even forget to answer the biblical arguments for slavery. In brief, their program was complete in every particular.

The second year the society still watched and answered the peace-at-any-price men, they discussed slavery and the slave power, they found encouragement in the financial situation, and they did not forget to explain again and again the causes of the war, including a republication of Alexander H. Stephens' speech on secession. Moreover, they were determined to keep Europe interested and properly informed. To this end they presented a set of the "Rebellion Record" and the Loyal Publication Society pamphlets to the King of Italy, the Emperor of

Russia, Prince Napoleon, Queen Victoria, Harriet Martineau, the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, to certain professors at Oxford, etc. But more important than all these, their principal concern was the election of 1864, and to the proper issue thereof they devoted their best energies. At their annual meeting they congratulated themselves upon having helped materially in that satisfactory decision.

The third and last year of the society's existence saw the publication of but ten pamphlets in comparison to forty-four of the first year and thirty-four of the second. Five of these concerned reconstruction, two the effect of slave labor upon free labor, one discussed to the length of two hundred and one pages the campaigns and failure of McClellan in comparison to the adequate support that the government gave him, and two were memorials to Lincoln and to soldiers. Obviously the work of the society was done; problems of reconstruction remained, but Congress had a loyal majority; emancipation and civil rights appeared to be in sight; and although the society favored universal manhood suffrage there seemed to be nothing more it could do about it. Therefore, on February 1, 1866, the society disbanded.

For similar reasons the New England Loyal Publication Society discontinued its broadsides, November 22.

The two organizations worked independently; they recognized each other's fields of activity; once they co-operated in establishing the Army and Navy Journal in August, 1863. This journal, non-partisan, non-political in character, was devoted to military news, appointments, official orders, operations of the coast survey, descriptions of military and naval exploits, and accounts of foreign armies. Aside from this one joint undertaking, the societies quietly went their separate ways, accomplished their purposes and ceased to exist. And yet they should not be forgotten, for they were essentially American, eloquent examples of the accomplishment of citizens of earlier days who, conscious of their social responsibility, confident of the value of the printed page, believed supremely in intelligent public opinion.

"Old Allegheny" is the title of the principal paper in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for October, 1918 (Vol. I, No. 4). The article, by Charles W. Dahlinger, occupies over sixty pages of the magazine, and is accompanied by twelve illustrations reproducing contemporary views of the city of Allegheny (now part of Pittsburgh) in the early and middle nineteenth century. The writer sketches the history of the locality from the days of Washington's visit to the vicinity until its absorption in the greater Pittsburgh. In the issue for January, 1919, of the same magazine (Vol. II, No. 1), Mr. George Arthur Cribbs gives the first portion of his study upon "The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania." The first chapter deals with the Indian Policy, 1682-1800; and the second with Indian Trade, 1680-1770. The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has been very successful in securing interesting and valuable material for the first five issues of its magazine.

The Government of England

BY PROFESSOR EVERETT KIMBALL, SMITH COLLEGE.

The chief characteristic of the constitution of England is not that it is unwritten—for the larger part is actually written—but that in the working of the government custom, habit, and convention determine to a very large degree how the constitutional organs of the government shall operate. That this is true of all constitutions, even of our own; may be seen from comparing the constitutional provisions for the election of the President by the electoral college with the actual conduct of a presidential campaign. The English constitution differs from other constitutions in that convention plays a more important part.

In legal theory the constitution of England establishes a limited monarchy. While the legal limitations upon the Crown are great, the custom or the convention of the constitution produces a government in which the actual practice is more democratic than in the United States. How this is brought about may be seen from examining the institutions established by constitutional law, and discovering how these, by convention and custom, are subjected to popular democratic control.

The Crown.—By the Act of Settlement, 1701, the crown of England was vested in Sophia, granddaughter of James I and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. The act contained certain other provisions to guard against dangers which were then believed to threaten England, but the significant point to notice is that Parliament in naming Sophia passed over other heirs with closer claims in the natural order of succession. Thus George I, her son, was truly king by act of Parliament and not by divine right. What Parliament has done, some future Parliament may do again, and thus legally change or abolish the line of descent by which the Crown is inherited.

In legal theory every act of the government is an act of the Crown. "The Queen, and she alone, is the depository of the national power. She, and she alone, is entitled to exercise that power. But in her exercise of it she always acts by the advice and with the consent of certain bodies specified by law." (Hearn, "The Government of England," 16.) This was true when written of Queen Victoria, and is equally true of George V. The problem is to determine not what or how much power is left in the hands of the Crown, but what are the bodies by whose advice and consent the Crown exercises any of this power, and to whom these bodies are responsible. In the United States we are familiar with the idea of a government of delegated powers—neither the President nor Congress, nor the two together, can act beyond or contrary to the powers granted by the Constitution. In England, the constitution prescribes few limits upon the powers of the Crown and none upon the powers of Crown and Parliament acting in concert. In spite of the growth of parliamentary

government and democratic limitations upon the royal power, the Crown of England to-day is possessed of powers "far wider than that of the chief magistrate in many countries, and well-nigh as extensive as that now possessed by the monarch in any government not an absolute despotism." (Lowell, "Government of England," I, 23.) What these powers are it is not necessary to inquire since none of them can be exercised according to the personal desires of the holder of the crown. The maxim that the King can do no wrong means, among other things, that every act of the Crown must be taken upon the advice of some responsible minister. The point to be kept clearly in mind is that the English constitution instead of delegating powers directly to the executive simply directs how the executive power—and some of this power is not at all clearly defined—shall be exercised. Thus, according to the legal theory the ministers advise how the royal powers shall be exercised in executive affairs, the judges in judicature, and Parliament in legislation. To the ordinary mind, however, this is a fiction—a fiction supported by law, it is true—but none the less a fiction. Nevertheless it is quite different from an actual limitation upon the power of the crown. Thus, assuming in reality that which actually happens to be true according to fiction, the Crown in Council still is possessed of many of the despotic powers of Henry VIII, but with this difference: Henry VIII expressed his personal opinions, while George V, if consulted at all, accepts the direction of his ministers. Thus the ease with which England adapted her government to war conditions under the Defense of the Realm Act, may be contrasted with the debates, discussions, and honest doubts concerning the constitutionality of many of the powers assumed by or granted to our President.

Parliament.—In legal theory Parliament consists of the King, Lords, and Commons. For practical purposes, however, the Crown exercises its powers almost solely upon the advice of the Cabinet—a committee approved by the House of Commons—while since 1911, the Lords have been deprived by statute of co-ordinate powers in legislation. In several undefined ways, however, the Crown may be said still to retain some independent power in connection with Parliament. It still has the right to name its chief advisers, subject to the approval of the House of Commons. Thus, upon the resignation of Mr. Asquith in 1916 the King "sent for" Mr. A. Bonar Law. But, as Mr. Law was unable to form a Cabinet which would have the support of the Commons, the King "sent for" Mr. David Lloyd-George, who formed the second Coalition Cabinet. This sending for a minister to form a Cabinet means in American political parlance that the Crown has the right to nominate its ministers subject to the ratification of

the House of Commons. This power the Crown undoubtedly possesses. A more doubtful power, and one which has never been exercised in recent years, is the power of dissolution. By the Parliament Act of 1911, the life of a parliament is limited to five years unless sooner dissolved by the Crown. A very nice question arises at what point the Crown may, of its own initiative, without the consent and advice of its ministers, dissolve Parliament? But aside from these undefined or questioned rights, the power of the Crown over Parliament is exercised entirely and completely by its ministers—the Cabinet.

The House of Lords, consisting of upwards of six hundred hereditary, elective, appointed, and ex-officio legislators has for nearly a hundred years been subordinate to the Commons. This subordination, however, was not expressed in law, but was merely a part of the conventional portion of the English constitution, and meant that the Lords ought not to oppose the will of the Commons on a question upon which the will of the electorate was set. Since 1911, however, the conventional restriction has been written into the statutory part of the constitution. By the Parliament Act of that year, money bills, that is bills laying taxes or making appropriations, become laws one month after being sent to the Lords whether accepted by them or not, upon royal assent being signified; other public bills become laws if passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, provided at least two years shall have elapsed between their first introduction and the final passage for the third time. Thus the Lords may exercise only a suspensive veto upon the legislation of the Commons.

The Commons, now numbering 707, are elected by the direct votes of the electors on a suffrage which in some ways is more democratic than that of most American States, for it grants a limited franchise to women and makes residence or occupation of premises the chief qualification.

The absolute and unlimited sovereignty of Parliament is the outstanding feature of the legal theory of the English constitution. Nothing that Parliament does can be unconstitutional. This is but another way of saying that Parliament is at once a constituent assembly and a legislative body; that is, that it both makes the constitution under which it operates and passes laws in accordance with the rules it makes. This theory of parliamentary sovereignty has been illustrated by the Act of Settlement of 1701; but more recently the last Parliament extended its own life three years beyond the time set by law for its dissolution, and eight years after the voters had expressed their choice upon an issue settled seven years ago. Thus, in contrasting Parliament with Congress, the chief mark of difference is this: Congress is subordinate to the Constitution—Parliament makes the constitution. Or, to put it another way, Congress has powers delegated to it by the Constitution while Parliament possesses sovereign and unlimited power. The same difference exists between the powers of Congress and the powers of Parliament

that was noticed in discussing the powers of the Crown—in the United States the Constitution grants and forbids certain powers, while in England all power is left to an institution or organ of government, and the constitution either by statute or convention determines how these powers shall be exercised. But neither the Crown nor Parliament exercises their legal powers, for by convention, which has become the extra-legal part of the constitution, the powers of both the Crown and Parliament are directed, if not actually exercised by the Cabinet.

The Cabinet.—The Cabinet is the keystone of the present English system. As an institution it has no legal existence, but in the actual operation of the government it is all pervasive and virtually all powerful. It may be defined as committee of the members of the party having the majority in the House of Commons. Indeed, until 1915 the principle of party unanimity was pretty firmly established, and although a member of the Labor Party sat in Mr. Asquith's Cabinet, this only meant that the Liberal and Labor parties were in substantial accord. Since 1914 the attempted party truce was thought to make it possible to form a coalition cabinet which would be agreed upon the one policy, the prosecution of the war. But when, with the accession of David Lloyd-George, the leading Liberal withdrew, the Cabinet became even more contrary to tradition since it was a Cabinet of the party not having the majority in the House, and existed only upon the sufferance of the other parties. The members of the Cabinet perform a double function. As holders of offices established by law, they are responsible for the administration of the departments over which they preside, while collectively they are responsible for and direct the whole policy of the government, and control alike the Crown and Parliament. But in that new institution, the War Cabinet of 1916, only one member held an active office (Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer); two held offices without administrative duties (Lloyd-George, First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Curzon, President of the Council), while two members were without office of any sort (Lord Milner and Mr. Henderson, later Mr. Barnes).

In legislation the Cabinet in theory proposes measures upon which Parliament may act. Actually the Commons adopts whatever measure the Cabinet places before it. In theory the Commons may discuss and amend bills presented to them by the Cabinet. Actually few amendments, and those on unimportant points, are adopted against the will of the Cabinet. (Thus President Lowell finds that between 1890 and 1905 only eighteen votes were carried against the Cabinet. "Government of England," II, 80, note.) Discussion certainly does take place, but as Mr. Sidney Low long ago pointed out, the real and effective criticism of a measure comes from outside of the House, and it is significant that David Lloyd-George submitted his Man Power Bill for criticism to the Labor Unions before he introduced it into the House of Commons. The members of the Commons are elected not to legislate, but to make possible such

legislation as the Cabinet desires. They are chosen not to act for themselves, but to allow a Prime Minister to act. That this is true may be seen by reading the appeals of both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd-George at the recent election. The electors were exhorted to return members, not because of legislative intelligence or because they were pledged to this or that policy, but solely because they would support Mr. Lloyd-George and the Coalition or Mr. Asquith and the Liberals. As long as the Cabinet remains the Cabinet, the House passes the acts placed before it by the Cabinet; for if it fails so to do, the Cabinet either dissolves Parliament or resigns and thus ceases to be the Cabinet.

In executive affairs the Cabinet "carries on" subject to the constant criticism and supervision of the Commons. In theory this criticism is real, and the control may be made instantly effective and the Cabinet dismissed by an adverse vote or a vote of censure. In reality the opportunities for criticism have been reduced and their effectiveness diminished, so that President Lowell could write in 1906, "The program of the ministers must be accepted or rejected as a whole, and hence the power of initiative, both legislative and executive, must rest entirely with them. This is clearly the tendency in Parliament at the present day. The House of Commons is finding more and more difficulty in passing any effective vote, except a vote of censure." ("Government of England," I, 355.) But the penalty for a successful vote of censure is either the resignation of the Cabinet and the failure of the policy of the party, or a general election with certain expense and possible defeat. Members of the majority are so very loath to run this risk that Mr. Low could truly say, "The House of Commons no longer controls the Executive; on the contrary, the Executive controls the House of Commons. The theory is that the ministers must justify each and all their acts before the representatives of the nation at every stage; if they fail to do so, those representatives will turn them out of office. But in our modern practice the Cabinet is scarcely ever turned out of office by Parliament *whatever it does*." ("Governance of England," 81.)

With the increasing complexity of the operations of the government the number of the executive departments has been increased, and with this increase has come a growth in the size of the Cabinet. It is true that not all the ministers presiding over departments have been included in the Cabinet, but more and more have found reason to press their claims for such honor. Thus while in eighteenth century seven was thought the proper number for a Cabinet, Mr. Asquith's Cabinet contained twenty, while, by the close of 1916, there were almost thirty ministers whose departments would have justified their inclusion according to previous methods of choice. Such a body was too large to perform the functions of supervising the operations of the government and determining its policy, particularly during war when constant oversight and immediate decision was necessary. To remedy this condition and reach the de-

sired results, Mr. Lloyd-George created the War Cabinet. This was but a frank acknowledgment of a practice which had long existed. Even in the eighteenth century there were gradations of ministers, and only the inner circle enjoyed the full confidence of the Prime Minister. The use of an inner cabinet for the determination of important policies was continued without any formal acknowledgment of its existence; the very size and composition of the Cabinet precluding anything like equality of powers. Previous to December, 1916, a War Committee of the Cabinet, consisting of seven, had been entrusted with the actual conduct of the war; over this Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister and leader of the House of Commons, presided. But this comparatively small committee was composed of ministers who were also busy with the affairs of their own departments, and had little time for the continuous supervision of policy which the war necessitated; moreover, the committee itself was expanded by consulting ministers and official advisers, until it was nearly as unwieldy as the old Cabinet. The War Cabinet of David Lloyd-George was of a different sort. It consisted of only five members, only one of whom had active departmental duties. It thus could devote its whole time and attention to the direction and conduct of the war. It and it alone determined what policies should be adopted. Ministers from the departments appeared before it and sat with it when their departments were concerned, but the decision and the responsibility lay with the five. The War Cabinet, moreover, was different from the inner cabinets of previous administrations in that it was formally recognized, although not legally sanctioned, by the House of Commons. The former Cabinet and the Ministry continued to occupy themselves with departmental duties, which might be subjected to criticism and even censure by the House, but such censure would not necessarily mean the fall of the government. (For example, the censure of the Indian Office and the resignation of Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) But the censure of the policy of the War Cabinet would lead to the resignation of the War Cabinet, the Cabinet, and the Ministry.

Thus, since the legal powers of the Crown have been subordinated by custom and law to Parliament, and of the two Houses of Parliament, the Lords have by law been subordinated to the Commons, while all these institutions—Crown, Lords, and Commons—alike are by custom controlled by the Cabinet, is not England governed not by a democracy, but by an irresponsible oligarchy? In other words, is there any control which can be exercised upon the power of the Cabinet? "The check on the Ministry-in-office," says Mr. Low, "is the existence of alternative Ministry-out-of-office, ready and able to take its place at any moment, and such an opposition Government *in posse* is impossible without the two great well-balanced forces always mobilized and on the war footing." ("Governance of England," 125.) The safeguard against Cabinet despotism and the guarantee of democracy is the existence of two well-balanced parties. But England differs from other coun-

tries in that it makes the party organization the actual instruments of government, "Party works . . . inside, instead of outside, the regular political institutions. In fact, so far as Parliament is concerned, the machinery of party and of government are not merely in accord; they are one and the same thing. The party cabal has become the Treasury Bench." (Lowell, "Government of England," I, 458.)

Theoretically and historically there are two great parties, either one of which is ready and capable of assuming office and carrying on the government. Neither of them is irreconcilable or revolutionary, and both accept the nature and form of the state and the constitution; and each is ready, to a very large degree, to build upon the work of the other. They do not desire to re-make the state according to their own peculiar dogmas, but to have the opportunity to make the state work. While behind the acts of each party lies the consciousness that it may be called to carry on the government along the lines it was just criticising or to criticise the very policy it was just urging. The very realization of this fact tends to prevent extremes and to moderate unbridled party action.

Since the middle 'eighties, however, the Irish National Party, a minority party, has at times held the balance of power and thrown out of gear this delicately adjusted machine. And since 1906 the Labor Party has been a force to be reckoned with, while at present the Sinn Feiners form a group of irreconcilables. At times it has looked, as it looks now, as if the old theory of His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Opposition was breaking down because minor parties might force a resignation or prevent the formation of a government. But two of the present minority parties—the Labor and Sinn Fein—are declared revolutionary in aim, while the Irish Nationalists in the recent election were swallowed up by the Sinn Feiners. The truth is that England is ripe for a party realignment and party readjustment,

and public opinion has just expressed itself in the recent election not so much in favor of any one party as in favor of one leader.

According to the legal theory this public opinion must be expressed either in the House of Commons by the support or censure of a Cabinet, or by a general election where the electorate declares its preference for a particular leader and his policy. But if since 1867 only two Cabinets have fallen as a result of adverse votes in the Commons unconnected with general elections, is it not fair to assume that, like the royal veto, the power to dismiss a Cabinet by an adverse vote is lapsing through non-use? Moreover, a victory or defeat at a general election is not always necessary for the construction or resignation of a Cabinet. Thus Lord Rosebery resigned in 1895, although he had a majority, and Mr. Balfour resigned in 1905, although he still controlled a majority of seventy-six. And it would be absurd to suppose that the election of 1910, upon the issue of the Parliament Bill, favored Mr. Asquith's Coalition Cabinet or forced his resignation, or gave any sanction to the novel War Cabinet of 1916. The truth is that just as the Cabinet alters and amends bills because of public opinion expressed outside of Parliament, so administrations rise and fall without the sanction of a general election. Public opinion rules in England as in the United States, but with this great distinction: In the United States law fixes the time and methods of testing public opinion, while in England this may be determined by convention through means not provided by law.

The constitution truly controls all the actions of the English government, but as was said at the beginning of this discussion, the constitution is composed not merely of law, but largely of custom and convention. It is these customs or conventions, unknown to law, which prevent a possible legal despotism, and ensure the ultimate supremacy of public opinion.

The European Neutrals and the Peace Conference

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

It has been reported that the neutral states will not have a share in the negotiations at Paris and Versailles. At first thought this seems to be a logical decision; the neutrals took no formal part in the war, and consequently should have no interest in the discussions at the peace conference or in the details of the settlement that may finally be agreed upon by "the high contracting parties."

Nevertheless, the fact remains that some of the European neutrals have suffered relatively greater losses in the course of the war than certain other countries outside Europe which were technically at war with Germany. Norway, for example, probably suffered more from the activities of the German sub-

marine than any other country, neutral or belligerent, except Great Britain. More than 800 Norwegian ships have been destroyed by mines or torpedoes, and Norway was supposedly at peace with the Central Powers. Excepting Switzerland, all the other neutral states in Europe have suffered in the same way, though to a less extent.

Realizing, therefore, that these nations may, after all, have a real interest in the peace negotiations, the Allies have apparently agreed to form a separate committee or conference before which the neutrals shall be allowed to come with their claims and grievances. It is not yet known what these countries may wish to urge or demand, but the press reports indicate that

the proposed intermediate conference will be asked to consider a number of important problems both of a general and of a more special character.

GENERAL PROBLEMS.

With the exception of Spain, the European neutrals are small states, and they all realize quite keenly that in the event of another great war they would find it difficult to maintain their neutrality and to preserve their independence. They are, therefore, very much interested in those of President Wilson's "fourteen points" that look toward the establishment of a permanent condition of peace.

(1) "Open covenants of peace" are now the rule in Norway, and to a certain extent in Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland. It is likely that the abandonment of secret diplomacy would also be favored in Sweden, where the democratic movement has recently shown decided strength.

(2) The geographical position of Holland, Denmark, and Sweden is such that these countries naturally take kindly to the President's demand for "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas;" the matter is also of great interest to the Norwegians, though they are somewhat inclined to accept British supremacy on the ocean as the best safeguard thus far provided.

(3) The earlier belief, that the war might result in the formation of two powerful economic unions, and that economic warfare might continue even after peace and demobilization, caused much uneasiness in neutral Europe. In Scandinavia it led to the suggestion that the Northern countries should try to meet the threatened situation with an economic union of their own. This idea has to some extent been realized; still, the Scandinavians appreciate the fact that their resources are limited, and would welcome "the removal, so far as possible, of economic barriers."

(4) The small states are all in favor of a reduction of armaments. When the war broke out they all mobilized in part, but they seem to have had but little faith in the effectiveness of their preparations.

(5) The proposal that the nations should organize a league to preserve the peace of the world has found great favor in all the neutral states. Without the protection of such an organization they fear that their sovereignty may be impaired and their independence ultimately shorn away.

(6) It is likely that nearly all these countries will demand compensation for the ships sunk by German submarines. As the Allies have branded this form of warfare as piracy, such claims appear to be valid. Last October representatives of Dutch and Scandinavian shipping interests met in Copenhagen and formulated their demands for compensation. But on this point the neutrals are not hopeful. The matter of compensation or indemnity is one of great difficulty, and it seems impossible that all such claims can be allowed. Turkey can pay nothing. Little can be expected from Bulgaria. Austria-Hungary has disappeared. And Germany will probably not be able to assume the entire financial burden of the war.

GIBRALTAR.

Spain has not played a heroic role during the past four years. All the other Latin countries in Europe and several in America joined in the war on the Germans; but Spain remained neutral, and for a time her people were strongly suspected of leaning toward the Central Powers. It is believed that Spain might have been brought into the war on the side of the Allies, if England had been willing to surrender Gibraltar; but the British government was evidently not disposed to pay the price.

For more than seven hundred years Gibraltar was held almost continuously by the Moors. In 1462 it was taken by the Castilians, who held it till 1704, when the great rock fell into the hands of the English. Though the possession of Gibraltar by the English may be regarded as a menace to the peace of Spain, there is no good reason for considering it as a bit of "unredeemed" territory. The English have held the stronghold nearly as long as the Spaniards before them, and such population as the town of Gibraltar possesses contains a variety of elements with the Spaniards in a small minority.

It is reported that Spain is now likely to ask England to surrender Gibraltar in return for Ceuta, a Spanish possession on the African coast just across the strait from the great stronghold. On the material side there is probably not much choice between these two points; in both cases the harbor facilities are poor and the commercial possibilities of slight importance. So long as England holds India she cannot wholly withdraw from the Strait of Gibraltar, though it is possible that Ceuta would serve the purpose as well as the fortress on the opposite side. However, British pride is not likely to permit a transfer.

THE DUTCH FRONTIER.

The Dutch had good reasons for wishing to keep out of the war. If Holland had joined the Allies, the country would probably have become another Belgium; if she had entered the war on the German side, she would have lost her colonial possessions in the East and the West Indies. In the early days of the war we read that the Dutch were providing food and shelter for a large number of Belgian refugees; and it comes as a shock to us when we now read that some of the Belgians are urging a "rectification" of their northern frontier in the interest of their own country. It seems that these expansionists have their eyes on two bits of Dutch territory.

(1) In order that Antwerp may have access to the ocean at all times, they urge that Holland be forced to surrender that part of Zeeland that lies south of the Scheldt River.

(2) Limburg, the southwestern province of Holland, at one time belonged to the Belgian Netherlands. It came into Dutch possession in 1839 after a dispute that threatened to terminate in war. In this case the plea is "historic right."

The peace conference will no doubt give a respectful hearing to any claim that Belgium may urge;

but it seems unlikely that the boundary between the two Netherlands will suffer any material change.

SPITZBERGEN.

About three hundred miles due north of Scandinavia lies Spitzbergen, a group of large and small islands covering an area of about 30,000 square miles. The archipelago was discovered more than three centuries ago, but because of the Arctic conditions that prevail on the islands, no European government thought it worth while to claim and occupy them. It has been understood, however, that Norway, Sweden, and Russia should be regarded as having definite interests in that region. But some years ago it was discovered that Spitzbergen possesses great mineral deposits, particularly coal, and this bleak and frozen corner of the world has since developed some importance in European diplomacy.

Several attempts have been made to develop these coal fields, and during the war a Norwegian corporation has been active in this direction. Coal is not easily mined in Spitzbergen, but as the Norwegians have been paying at the rate of from \$80 to \$100 per ton for English coal during the past year, coal production in the Arctic has no doubt proved a profitable venture.

By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Russians agreed that Germany should have a free hand in Spitzbergen. It was evident that Germany intended to annex the archipelago. England did not intend to allow this, and during the past summer the islands were visited by an English expedition, and are at present supposedly under English dominion. It may be that the British government does not intend to make the occupation permanent; at any rate, the Norwegian envoys at Versailles are likely to enter a protest and present the claim that Spitzbergen belongs to Norway by virtue of actual occupation and commercial development.

FINNISH BOUNDARY PROBLEMS.

The general question what shall be included in the Finnish state is of great interest to all the Scandinavian countries. This interest is both sentimental and practical. Finland was colonized from Sweden—there were Scandinavian settlements in Finland centuries before the Finns found their way into the country. About one-seventh of the population of Finland is of Swedish blood and speaks the Swedish language.

In 1915 an influential group of Swedes, the so-called "Activists," were eager for war with Russia and demanded the reannexation of Finland. One cannot know what the Finns might have agreed to in 1915; but at present there are strained relations between the Swedes and their neighbors to the east. The Finns regard the ambitions of Sweden as a menace to their own independence. This feeling is largely due to a controversy over the Aland Islands.

The Aland Islands lie across the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, and no doubt served as stepping-stones in the eastward movement of Swedish expan-

sion. They are inhabited by Swedes, and have probably never had a Finnish population. Geographically they are a part of the Finnish land-mass, and before the revolution of 1917 they were counted as a part of the grand duchy of Finland. The islands have only a slight material value, but their position in the North Baltic is one of great strategic importance. The Swedes regard their possession necessary for the protection of their capital city. The Finns are naturally reluctant to surrender what they regard as undoubtedly Finnish territory.

The Norwegians are much interested in the efforts of the Finns to secure an ice-free port on the Arctic coast. Such ports are not numerous, but Russia has one at Catherine Harbor, the terminus of the Murman Railway, which the Finns at one time hoped to acquire. Naturally the Russians have not taken kindly to this suggestion. At present the Murman coast is held by Allied troops, and the Finns have been forced to suspend their operations in northwestern Russia.

The Norwegians fear that if the rulers of Finland are foiled in their designs on Catherine Harbor they may decide to occupy the shores of Varanger Fjord. This territory has belonged to Norway for at least a thousand years; but it lies at the extremity of the long Norwegian coast, it is almost unoccupied, and it would be very difficult to defend.

NORTH SLESWICK.

The Danes are interested chiefly in what the peace conference may decide to do in the case of North Sleswick. When Prussia in 1866 acquired the Austrian rights to the duchies that had been wrested from the Danish dynasty two years before, it was agreed that the inhabitants of North Sleswick should be allowed to decide by a referendum whether they wished to continue as Prussian subjects or be restored to the old allegiance. Twelve years later the Austrian emperor released the Prussian government from this pledge, but the Danes of North Sleswick have always held that the moral obligation remained, and have insisted on their right to a referendum.

Soon after the outbreak of the war certain English editors and statesmen suggested that the time had come to restore Sleswick-Holstein to Denmark, the purpose being not so much to undo a wrong done to the Danes as to deprive Prussia of the Kiel Canal. But Holstein never belonged to the Danish kingdom, and has never been Danish in any respect. A thousand years ago all of Sleswick was Danish and belonged to Denmark; but in the course of the centuries the southern half has become largely Germanized. Denmark desires the restoration of the Danish half of Sleswick, but nothing more.

In this case the first step toward self-determination has been taken by the people concerned, the Danes of North Sleswick. As soon as possible after the overthrow of the imperial government in Germany (November 14) the Electoral Union of North Sleswick, the political organ of the Danes in that section, met at Aabenraa and took action preparatory to separation from Prussia. This action took the form

of a series of resolutions which were transmitted to the Danish government with a request that they be forwarded to the various governments directly interested in the restoration of peace. The resolutions demanded that a plebiscite be taken, and dealt specifically with the matters of boundaries and the franchise.

(1) North Sleswick is defined as including the territory north of a line drawn from Flensburg Fjord in a general westerly direction across the peninsula. The boundary shall begin a few miles north of Flensburg and shall terminate a short distance south of Tönder on the opposite side. This area shall be allowed to vote as a unit.

(2) All resident citizens, men and women, of the age of twenty or above, shall have the right to vote

in the referendum; former citizens of Sleswick who have been driven into exile by the Prussian government shall also be allowed to vote; but Prussians who have come into the country during the last ten years shall have no voice in the referendum.

(3) Any district of Mid-Sleswick (south of the specified boundary) that shall desire to vote on the question of reunion with Denmark shall be permitted to do so.

The Danish government has forwarded these resolutions to the belligerent powers, and it is quite likely that favorable action will be taken at Versailles. But the problem of Sleswick is wholly distinct from that of the Kiel Canal. The Danes have no desire for the Kiel Canal, and would probably refuse to accept it, if it were offered to them.

The Effects of the War on Foreign Trade

BY SIMON LITMAN, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

The armistice of November 11, 1918, brought to an end the first universal war which has taken place since the establishment of our modern industrial system with its large scale production, its geographic division of labor, its rapid means of transportation, and its intricate system of international exchange of commodities. The last war which can in any way be compared with the present conflict in its effects upon world's commerce occurred over one hundred years ago when combined Europe fought revolutionary France and then Napoleonic ambitions. At that time the total yearly value of international commerce was about \$1,400,000,000, while during the year preceding the outbreak of present hostilities it reached the figure of \$40,250,000,000.

However bloody and important some of the struggles of the nineteenth century may have been, they were largely localized, and none of them affected to any considerable degree international trade. The present war shook it to the very foundations. It disrupted the network of commercial treaties by means of which the governments of various countries had been regulating their commercial relations; it overthrew the complicated interlocking machinery of trade which Europe had built up during the three decades preceding the war; it changed the character and the relative values of goods exported and imported; it shifted trade routes and established new merchandising centers; it suspended the commerce of Germany and of Austria-Hungary with all but a few bordering countries, and it placed the United States at the front as the granary and the workshop of the world.

Some of these changes will not survive the conclusion of peace. Although spectacular in character they need not engage the attention of a historian, except in so far as they are symptomatic of future development or throw any light on foreign commercial intercourse created by a titanic struggle in which nations have been transformed into armed camps and

distant markets have been eliminated because of lack of shipping facilities due to a ruthless submarine campaign.

Other changes are likely to occur when peace is concluded; but many of these will last only during the transitory period of reconstruction and readjustment.

The more permanent effects of the war, those which will shape the future commerce of nations, cannot be ascertained by a mere perusal of trade statistics showing the rise and fall of exports and imports of different countries during the past four years. One may arrive at some understanding as to what the trend of world's commerce is likely to be only by a careful analysis of the facts behind these statistics, as well as by a consideration of many factors which do not find their expression in these statistics at all.

One must not be led to hasty conclusions by figures showing that the exports from the United States increased from \$2,484,000,000 in 1913 to \$6,231,000,000 in 1917, and the imports from \$1,792,000,000 to \$2,952,000,000. It is true that our foreign trade more than doubled during this brief period, and that it was in 1917 greater than that of any other country at any period of the world's history. But this remarkable record is no indication of what our imports and exports will be when conditions become normal.

This record has been partly due to an extraordinary rise in unit values, and not to a large increase in quantities of goods shipped in and out of the country. Thus, for instance, the imports of copper ingots, etc., amounted in 1913 to 300,000,000 pounds, valued at \$44,000,000, and in 1917 to 380,000,000 pounds, valued at \$102,000,000; during the same period the imports of fibers rose in quantity from 391,000 tons to 399,000 tons; expressed in value the rise was from \$50,000,000 to \$95,000,000. Turning to exports one finds that while the quantity of cereals exported in 1917 was only about 40 per cent. larger than in 1913, measured in value the increase was over 200 per cent. In many instances an actual decrease

in quantity has gone hand in hand with a distinct increase in value; this was true for cotton, tobacco and some other commodities.

While the exports from the United States to Europe consisted not only of "war material," gunpowder and shrapnel, but also of large quantities of condensed milk, refined sugar, beef and similar products, it is false to argue that the latter shipments represented peace commerce, and that they were not due in a large measure to war conditions. In 1917, Great Britain, France and Italy took over 50 per cent. of our exports. The rise in the value of our shipments in 1917 as compared with 1913 was for the United Kingdom, from \$591,000,000 to \$2,001,000,000; for France, from \$154,000,000 to \$941,000,000; for Italy, from \$79,000,000 to \$419,000,000. These three countries would have bought from us an even greater amount of commodities if we were able to supply them, and if transportation facilities were adequate to bring the goods to their shores; but they have been purchasing many products of our fields, forests, mines and factories merely because the avenues of intercourse with other nations have been closed to them.

War will affect the future foreign trade of the world to the extent of the changes produced in the industrial and financial status of the belligerent and neutral nations. It will affect it also in so far as it will bring about modifications in commercial legislation, and in the alignment of countries bound by means of tariff stipulations.

The warring countries, with the exception of the United States, have drawn heavily upon their gold reserves, and have contracted huge debts. In order to rehabilitate themselves they will try to rapidly regain their former trade connections, and to expand their sales in foreign markets. They will be forced towards this policy by the fact that in all belligerent countries the pressure of war demands led to an expansion of manufacturing activities, to the building of new factories and the enlargement of old ones. With the return of peace many of these factories will have to change the character of their goods and seek outlets for these abroad. The manufacturers and statesmen of the Allied nations as well as those of the Central Powers have been cognizant of the difficulties of the situation with which they will be confronted, and, notwithstanding the stern requirements of the war, a great deal of their time and attention has been directed toward the problems of future trade. It is obvious that foreign markets will belong to those who can produce more efficiently, and who by means of effective systematic efforts have created a desire for their goods, and not to those who in time of war were selling commodities at exorbitant prices to customers who were buying them merely because they had no other sources of supply. The ability of the manufacturing commercial nations of Western and Central Europe to supply foreign markets has not been impaired because of the war. Millions of lives have been lost, billions of dollars' worth of capital have been destroyed, but these losses have been

largely offset by new inventions, by introduction of improved machinery, by better organization of laboring forces, by use of women in many occupations from which they were heretofore excluded.

The two countries whose foreign trade will be most profoundly affected as the result of the war are the United States and Germany. In 1913, Germany was second only to Great Britain in the value of goods bought and sold in foreign countries, her commerce having increased about one hundred per cent. since the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1913, Germany's exports were valued at \$2,399,000,000 and her imports at \$2,545,000,000. She will not be in a position to re-enter the foreign markets on this scale for many years to come, even if no discrimination against her trade will be made by Allied nations. The latter control the greater part of the world's supplies of raw materials, and they will naturally replenish their own stocks before permitting Germany to make any purchases. Germany's commerce will be also unfavorably affected by the return to France of Alsace-Lorraine with its mineral resources and industrial plants, by the loss of a large part of her merchant marine and by the alienation of some of her best markets, those of the British Empire, France and Italy.

Due to the war the United States changed from a debtor to a creditor nation. The excess of American exports over imports was \$1,776,000,000 in 1915, \$3,089,000,000 in 1916, and \$3,279,000,000 in 1917, a total of \$8,144,000,000 in three years. Because of this we were able to buy back most of the American securities that were held abroad. In addition to this we imported over \$1,050,000,000 of gold and have loaned \$7,000,000,000 to foreign governments, particularly to those of the Allies. For twenty years before the outbreak of the war we had a so-called favorable balance of trade averaging about \$500,000,000 a year. Interest and dividend payments, freight charges to foreign shipowners, etc., were used heretofore to offset the one-sided exchange created by our favorable merchandise trade balance. With most of the securities back in the United States and with a merchant marine equal to any needs of the American trade, there will not be conveyances of values from the United States to settle commercial balances. How these balances will be settled, unless we are prepared to change our views regarding the advantages accruing from foreign trade, and are willing to accept an ever-increasing amount of products from abroad, is a difficult problem to solve. Additional large importations of gold are neither possible nor desirable, and there is a limit to the opening of credits abroad and to the capitalistic investments in industrially backward countries.

One of the interesting changes which is likely to last has been the growth of direct trade. A very large proportion of goods from China, Japan, Dutch East Indies, India, Australia, South Africa and South America which before the war used to go to Europe to be re-exported to this country from England, Holland, Germany and France, now come di-

rectly to our Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf harbors. London, Hamburg, Antwerp, Amsterdam and other ports in the English Channel and the North Sea will not be able to regain all of their former entrepot trade, as the United States is more than likely to continue her direct connections, with many markets of the world. There is also a likelihood of New York becoming one of the important centers for the purely merchandising trade, a center where products from all over the world will be gathered for subsequent redistribution. In anticipation of this many London houses have been establishing their branches in New York.

It is yet to be seen whether those to whom is entrusted the task of shaping the destinies of nations

have learned one of the lessons of the war, the lesson that what holds true of domestic exchange of commodities also holds true of foreign exchange. The success of individual tradesmen as well as the peaceful development and the prosperity of communities are not based upon trade animosities, upon ruthless exploitation and upon restrictive measures tending to suppress efficiency of service, but upon friendly co-operation of all those whose business it is to insure a flow of commodities from producers to consumers. A League of Nations binding large and small national units cannot hope to become a living reality unless old ideas of commercial rivalry are discarded. High protection, preferential tariffs, colonial expansion, spheres of influence are not compatible with true world democracy and international good-will.

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CHANGE IN PRICE.

On another page of this issue will be found a statement by the publishers of the reasons for not restoring the former reduced subscription rate allowed to members of the American Historical Association and to members of other history teachers' associations. The facts mentioned in the statement, it is believed, amply justify the change of policy.

THIS MONTH'S SUPPLEMENT.

Through the co-operation of the National Board for Historical Service, the HISTORICAL OUTLOOK is enabled to present to its readers this month a valuable analysis of important British works on reconstruction. The copious quotations make it easy to apprehend the points of view of the several writers. To the analysis of the general works there is appended a statement made on November 12, 1918, by the Minister in Charge of Reconstruction. The latter document shows to what extent the British officials were ready to undertake the practical operations of reconstruction on the day after the signing of the armistice. For American publicists, as well as American teachers and business men, these documents will have great value.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The meeting of the American Historical Association, to be held December 26-28, 1918, at Cleveland, Ohio, was called off a few days before the date set, upon the urgent request of the Board of Health of Cleveland, owing to the prevalence of the influenza in the city. The address of President William Roscoe Thayer, entitled, "Vagaries of Historians," appears in the January number of the *American Historical Review*. The meeting of the Council of the Association was postponed to meet January 31 to February 1, 1919, in New York City.

A Conspicuous Educational Failure

BY PROFESSOR EDGAR DAWSON, HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY.

A statistical survey of instruction in civics in the New York City high schools prepared by Miss Anna Michener appears in Number 89 of the publications of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

"The most salient fact brought out by this study," says Professor Beard, Director of the Bureau, in the preface to the report of the survey, "is that of the three years devoted to history and civics in the high schools, only about eight weeks are set aside for direct instruction [in civics or government]. Then there are other weaknesses set forth by the survey. We not only limit our instruction in citizenship to about eight weeks of three years, but the Regents' examinations tempt the teacher to consume much of the allotted time in what Miss Michener calls 'a mechanical memory study of the facts and framework of government,' although the best teachers undoubtedly resist this temptation. We have given very little attention to the content, methods, and scope of civic instruction. Very few of our teachers have had any training in constitutional law and government. Practically all of the instruction in citizenship is given by teachers of history who are not usually trained in government. The City of New York in selecting teachers recognizes chemistry, history, and English as separate subjects, but treats American government as a poor relation attached to history. The Regents of the State of New York, whose examination questions largely influence our instruction in New York City, are apparently unaware of the existence of this great community with its special problems and its peculiar community life. At all events during the last ten years, no Regents' questions have invited teachers in the high schools to devote any time to the intensive study of the government of the city in which most of the high school pupils will spend their lives."

In a word, this survey shows that wholly inadequate and disproportionate time is provided for the study of government; that many of those who teach it in this limited allowance of time are not trained for the work they are doing; and that those who conduct examinations which should direct the attention of teachers and pupils to the best methods seem to have little understanding of or interest in their work in so far as it is related to instruction in government. As an illustration of these conditions, the survey shows that the government of the city in which half of the people of the state live has been conspicuously neglected both by the examiners and by all but the best teachers during the decade just closing. This is a severe indictment of our educational leaders, and the statistics presented in the survey seem so fully to support the charges it makes that they can scarcely be a matter of debate. Let us see if we can locate the responsibility for the condition set forth.

Miss Michener lays much of our failure at the door of the state department of education, commonly referred to as the Regents. These Regents are a sort of state board of education which elects the state superintendent and a number of lesser officers. These officers with their headquarters at Albany in one of the most splendid educational buildings in the world have been given great powers in the statutes of the state. They control the making of syllabi in all subjects for the high schools, and committees appointed by them make up the examination papers set for graduation from the high schools. There is scarcely an educational agency in America with a finer opportunity, and the author of this survey has a right to ask why this opportunity has not been more fully used. Great powers carry with them great responsibilities. If our teaching of government is antiquated, inadequate, and purposeless, then we have a right to ask legally constituted authorities who preside over this education why this is true. If the youth who grow up in a great city are not taught to realize the government under which they are living and intend to live; if the examiners neglect the fact that we live in a country that is rapidly becoming a democracy and seem to ignore great opportunities to stimulate training in the practices of organized self-government, then the authorities who preside over the system must expect to be indicted for our failure. Whoever else may be *particeps criminis* in these conditions, our legally constituted officials who have had the power to correct them may be asked for an explanation.

But when a group of public officers are called to account, it is but just also to refer to the temper of the times and the public opinion which lies behind them. Let us see if others of us must not share with the Regents and their executive officers some of this blame.

The College Entrance Examination Board conducts each year an examination in American history and civil government. This examination may be compared to those conducted by the Regents of the State of New York. Under it thousands of boys and girls are admitted to college each year; to prepare for it hundreds of teachers all over the country shape their courses and the instruction they give, as well as the standards they maintain. Under the rules of the Board one unit of college admission credit represents five hours of class-room instruction each week for a year. It is assumed that this instruction is given by teachers who have been trained for their work. Yet it is well known that a large proportion of those who apply for this examination in American history and civil government receive only three hours a week of instruction, while five or more hours are given to nearly every other subject to which is attached equal

credit. It is also known that in many schools the instruction in this subject is assigned to a teacher with any sort of equipment from the football coach to the teacher of Latin. For many years those who read and graded the answer papers called forth by this examination insisted that candidates who were the product of such wholly inadequate training should be given grades truly representing their deficiencies. But last year (1917), apparently under pressure from officers of the Board which had been exerted steadily for a long time, resistance gave way, and the proportion of candidates given what is generally called a passing mark was increased more than a hundred per cent. over the year before. The type of instruction had not materially changed; the amount of time assigned to the subject not appreciably increased. Evidently the new motto is, "Since we cannot improve the instruction let us lower the standard." Should not our awakened patriotism stir some interest in the history and government of our country?

Of course the officers of the College Entrance Examination Board are largely responsible for the conditions just described. Yet they are but middle-men between the great preparatory schools and the universities and colleges. If either the secondary schools or the institutions of higher learning for which they prepare chose to take a stand for adequate instruction in the principles of self-government, the examinations conducted by the Board could and would be used as a means of the finest sort of stimulation. The principals of the schools find out that the colleges want candidates trained in Latin and mathematics, and that they are indifferent about the civic training of the youth of secondary school age. They therefore prepare the candidates well in these recognized subjects, and then they secure the remaining credit for college admission with as little outlay of effort and expense as possible.

As a matter of fact, the state officials, the principals, and other officers of educational administration seem to be scarcely aware of the fact that there is such a subject as government available for instruction. They associate with the other aspects of American history some references to constitutional history, particularly federal constitutional history, and wholly ignore the fact that there is a great science of government developing before their eyes. In one of the largest summer schools two courses were given this year in the teaching of government. The catalogue of this school lists these courses among the history courses and the teacher of them among the history teachers. The directors of the school do not mean to minimize instruction in government, for they have been making a pretty serious effort in the last few years to aid those who wish to develop this subject; but it simply is not fashionable to think of government as a separate and distinct secondary school subject. Government is a poor relation of history, a sort of Cinderella, and is generally forgotten when arrangements are made. When attention is called to the fact that this poor relation is really in the house,

some go so far as to deny the fact. They claim that government cannot be taught to children, but agree readily that the intricacies of abstract grammar as well as the most elusive mathematical theory can be given to them.

Now as much as we may be tempted to do so, it is useless to rail at public officials. They work by the light they have under the sort of stimulus we are ready to place behind them. We do not live under paternalism. It is not the function of our officials to do everything for us. If the government is bad under our system, whether it be local, state, or national, it is because our people neglect their duty and are indifferent. If a particular department of government is weak, it is because we as a people are not interested in that department. If an aspect of education receives less stress than do other aspects, it is because we do not demand that this one be cared for. These statements may be bromides, but they are often forgotten in our ardent discussions of what other people should do. We are nearly all of us "forgawdsakers" when it comes to improving our training for citizenship. But there is one group of people in America who would naturally seem to be somewhat closely related to this problem, and who do not seem to have rushed into its solution with superheated energy. This group is the university professors of political science.

One of the difficulties which confront the teacher of government is the indefiniteness of the subject. Some say the teacher should deal mainly with the federal constitution; others would have him assume all the burdens of ethical training and devote himself to the general upbuilding of the character of his pupils. Some would confine him to constitutional law; others would lay on his shoulders not only all of the activities of government, but also the sciences of economics and sociology (whatever the latter may be), if not of ethics and etiquette as well.

Does it not lie within the duties of the professors of political science to make their field definite enough for one to be able to use their title for the purpose of conveying an idea? Have the professors of political science no duty to the secondary teachers of their subject? Should they not be the natural leaders in finding a way to train the young in the practices of self-government? Is it more important to spin delicate webs of theory about the divisibility of sovereignty and the ultimate origin of the state, than it is to organize the results of their investigations in modern government definitely enough for their main tenets to be communicated to boys and girls of fifteen to eighteen years of age? What, after all, is the ultimate *raison d'être* of political science if not to develop self-government in the world? If this object is to be attained, is the impassable gulf between the teacher and the scholar to persist forever? The university men and women have the knowledge, the ability, and the leisure which make it possible for them to stimulate, organize, and lead in the development of sound training in the principles which differentiate democracy from anarchy. Do they use these possi-

bilities to the full? Must they not be classed with the school administrators as among those against whom an indictment must be brought when American youth grow up in cynical doubt whether organized self-government is a possibility or not?

This field needs to be cleared of many obscurities before we can even begin to work it economically. Even university teaching in it is not yet reduced to a very constructive process. The scientists do not seem to agree as to many of their inductions or generalizations. We do not know what to teach the young student of government. Without the leadership they have a right to expect, the teachers in the secondary schools have made serious efforts to work out syllabi and other statements of their aims and limits. The New England syllabus seems to be the most helpful single work of this sort that has appeared thus far, and it was the result of the sort of co-operation between university scientists and secondary practical teachers that is likely to solve our problems if they are solved.

The citizen of a self-governing community should be a well-rounded man or woman, impelled by the best ethical and moral impulses, guided by sound economic principles, trained in a trade or a profession, wholesome, healthy, the finest result of evolution. Training for such citizenship is a high task—one to which all the machinery of an educational system may devote itself with the assurance that its efforts are to the attainment of an end worth while. The child must be taught punctuality, cleanliness, orderly habits, generosity, economy, and many other things that are listed among the characteristics of those with whom we should like to live. There is probably no finer training for citizenship than participation in the activities of a school where pupil self-government is encouraged by the authorities, and is directed by a group of kind and tactful teachers who have that fine quality which makes it possible for them to be a sort of invisible government, permitting their charges to stub their toes and fall again and again in their efforts to make rules, adjust them to their environment, and enforce them, but protecting the discipline and educational value of the school. But teachers of this sort are rare in any grade of education; people capable of becoming such teachers are rare in any walk of life. They are jewels and extremely valuable. Fortunate is the school that has a few. Most failures in pupil self-government are the result of the lack of character in the principal or the teachers, or both.

While the teacher of government should be especially equipped to aid in directing pupil self-government, this is but little if any more his duty than it is the duty of other teachers. The traits which self-government in the school is meant to develop are the results of the educational process, and to develop them is the function of the entire machinery of the school. All else done in the school is accidental to this essential thing. No one should ever enter a secondary school who will not try to become tactful enough and wise enough to help with the training of

the character of the children through their own activities.

But the particular task, the peculiar function of the teacher of government is to teach the child the best and most definite results of political science. Is it not safe to say that all political scientists accept the principle of the short ballot in its various main outlines as no longer disputable? Should a pupil graduate from a secondary school course in government without understanding this principle and being ready to defend it? May not the same be said of the executive budget? May it not also be said of the principle of municipal home rule in matters of local legislation? Some one quotes Bismarck as saying that we must put into the school curriculum those principles which we wish to see adopted. Is it not fair to say that instruction in government is for the purpose of giving the child the best results of mature thought on the subject of government? Just how this should be done is a matter of psychological and pedagogical investigation and experimentation, but the ultimate goal in this field of instruction should be clear. It may be necessary to teach a great deal of concrete political and social activity in order to awaken the mind of the child to the need of organized government, but the teacher should never lose sight of the underlying purpose, never forget why all of the details are taught.

Miss Michener, in her report, makes several recommendations which, if carried out, would doubtless greatly improve instruction in government. They are the logical first steps, and they have been advocated by teachers here and there with more or less seriousness for some time. Her definite statement of them with her painstaking presentation of statistics should greatly aid in the effort to carry them out. She asks that instruction in government be made a separate subject from history; and, until this can be done, that the questions in civics constitute a larger part of the examination. If definite questions on government can be given a place in the examination, then administrative officers may come to see the need of a separate course. If a separate course is provided, they may see the need of persons trained to conduct it.

She also asks that a clearing house for material to be used in instruction be created. One wonders that this has not been done long ago. One wonders whether the normal training schools and colleges are not a little ashamed. Miss Michener proposes that this be done in some public institution; it should certainly be done in some institution logically concerned with the teaching of government. A public library or a public college or university would be the logical place for it. Possibly if the material were collected and a proper course outlined, these could be used as a lever with which to move the "too solid" masses of the educational administrative departments. Our leaders of education could be given ocular proof that there is material and method for a course in government which is neither a survey of all the sciences and activities of society, nor a mere memorizing of the federal constitution.

Practical Economics in the High School

BY IRA F. NESTOR, NORTH SIDE HIGH SCHOOL, DENVER, COLORADO.

Economics is a social science and deals primarily with man's earning a living. It concerns itself with his happiness and finds the foundation of his exertions in the satisfactions he derives from them. This does not mean that he seeks ease and idleness, but rather finds joy in accomplishments. His income streams vary as the individual in his ability and capacity.

A prime question with anyone is, What does a good cost? The answer is anywhere it is looked for. For example, what did your shoes cost? When buying them you asked that of the seller. The economist asks that too, knowing that what it is only serves as an index to other factors. He thinks of a great factory with specialized labor, back of that a tannery drawing its supplies from the ends of the earth, and back of that local conditions. Now what do you say was the cost of your shoes? You can't answer with certainty; the one thing you know is their exchange value. In the power to think through this value lies the good of economics. For the mass of people to-day the cost of any article is just what is passed over the counter to possess it. This fact reminds one of the answer made to western traders to India at the end of the Middle Ages when, inquiring the origin of their spices, they were told that they came from traders who got them farther east. Economics would have the user of a good know all the steps from the east to complete consumption. Let me add one more thing here. Among the American goods sold the world around are fountain pens, typewriters, oil products, farm machinery, and many others. Economics tells you how and why. A study of the goods on any grocer's shelves will tell you another practical story. As illustration, you can find to-day in Denver milk produced two thousand miles away selling at the same price as Colorado milk.

The study of economics requires a special vocabulary as any other subject. The terms are not very many. They come to have fairly definite meanings, so much so that many phenomena may be described in few words. The earliest acquaintance is with such terms as "human wants," "utility," "margin," "satiety," and so on. The term "good" is just as definite a concept as X in mathematics. In discussing these terms book rote is to be avoided. Indeed, a little vaudeville is preferable. No one will derive much good from this study who does not think in a vocabulary of his own. There is no good reason for taking the classical orange in developing the law of diminishing utility, candy or chewing-gum will do just as well, and ice-cream is always a favorite. In this connection every opportunity for applying what one sees must be used. If there is a big billboard near the most used entrance of the postoffice and at

the top very conspicuously placed the name of a prominent advertising corporation, or if there is posted on the school bulletin board a call for Christmas packages for our soldiers asking for a particular brand of smoking tobacco note that, and in both cases make appropriate comments.

Many secondary schools cannot find time to devote a semester to economics. Yet the first of all problems that faces a citizen is that of earning a living, and it is hardly playing fair with him to turn him out into the world without showing the signposts of the road he must travel. That can be done in any secondary school, no matter what its course of study. Approximately ten per cent. of the content matter of up-to-date history text-books is of a purely economic nature. When the list is mentioned you will agree. Slavery runs through all history, taxes have ever been a source of protest, invention has brought industrial revolution, land tenure as ever is a problem to-day, the regulation of trade never ceases, the ownership of public and quasi-public utilities is a subject of daily conversation, labor problems confront us asleep and awake; in short, there is no escape from a consideration of economic factors.

Naturally there is a question of where to begin these discussions. Begin where you can. The study does not have to proceed in any chronological order, and often a topic may be taken out of its sequence. If there is no whole period given, use the opportunities in history, geography, literature, mathematics, and the pure sciences. Suppose the question of a standard of living comes up; it may be discussed both from observation and from history. Philip of Macedon ruled a people clad in skins, but his son Alexander gathered about himself people who dressed in flowing robes and lingered long at wine and costly food. The poor immigrant finds his first American pay generous compared with what he had formerly received. But a short residence makes him conscious that it is not so ample as he had supposed. The Virginia colonists starved, yet in the next century many a planter kept open house. Our great-grandfathers may have never seen daily newspapers, but to-day many a wayside mail-box bulges with them. Slave labor thrived in extensive, non-competitive production only to cease as an institution when required to meet competition and intensive work.

A big division of our study is exchange. On exchange depends all business. One of its earliest forms was barter which in reality grew out of the giving of reciprocal presents. Indeed, a money transaction even now in its last analysis is bartering, for what else is money than a commodity? The old idea of having to cheat to gain anything in a trade no longer holds. The solution lies in each giving

the other utilities not possessed by the good in the hands of the original owner. Need often brings utilities. Land to-day the world around has a value far greater than ever before. There are more people, but no more land. This creates situations of dependency which if a people is resourceful it can modify. Up to 1914 Germany supplied the world with toys, but England's skill in ceramics made it possible to take her place, so that now "Kewpie" is likely to be ousted by "Fumsum." And yet this industry is woefully precarious, for if, it is said, as much as a small ship load of lead, bone-ash, and borax failed to reach the English potteries, a business of the annual value of £7,000,000 would cease and 80,000 people be thrown out of employment.

One great value of this study is the eradication of erroneous ideas. One of the trite statements to-day is that the Government should undertake this thing and that. Did those who would have it so think that government gets its incomes from the contributions of citizens, they would be less ready to suggest it. These need to know that the fiat of government is not sufficient to create value where nothing intrinsic exists. They belong to that class who if told there was a Gresham's law would propose repealing or suspending it. Many think interest comes from money, but when asked how much a dollar locked tight in a safe yields readily admit that something more is needed. Advertising is frequently condemned on the ground that it is an added unnecessary cost. In reality it is one of the best educators in value and standards of goods that there is. Often prices for goods for two different periods of time are merely quoted without thinking that the purchasing power of money changes. Government may within certain limits regulate the prices of privately produced goods, but can never for a very long time overstep economic laws. To make a durable good that can be used but once is folly. Machinery may temporarily displace a few workers, the mass of mankind benefits by it; teamsters in America complained of their loss of business when the first railroads were built, angry workmen have smashed machinery, yet who would to-day go back two centuries for conveniences? Laws are useful to the extent that public opinion sanctions them. Despite the great praise given Canada's labor laws it is now estimated that if all possible fines for their violation were assessed, the sum would exceed \$150,000,000 or about twenty dollars for every one of her citizens. Without continuing the list it seems to me matters of this kind are vital enough to merit attention next after a study of one's vernacular.

The field of statistics is not to be neglected. In columns of figures data are dry and difficult to grasp. Nothing is so helpful here as a graph. A number is a symbol, and since a graph represents numbers, it may be called a summary of symbols. There is no mystery about the graph beyond the fact that it enables us to read tabular facts more easily and com-

prehensively. For two or three facts or summaries a simple graph suffices, for more the cumulative graph is better. It is not amiss to say that the behavior of curves gives often occasion for a thrill; as the soaring of prices in the early days of "greenbacks," or the sudden drop of gold production in South Africa at the time of the Boer War. Along with the graph should go the index number. The index number is nothing more than a common denominator to denote change in prices. Various methods are used, the simplest being that where the base is 100. Weighting numbers may be ignored for elementary study. Both graphs and index numbers find universal use in the financial and business world.

How may one get an understanding of these problems? Whether the instructor has or has not had economics in college, it is just as well to begin by reviewing some elementary text in the subject. Follow this then with a more general treatise, one of the best being Taussig's "Principles of Economics," and many problems are masterly treated in Marshall's book of the same title. With these ought to go readings in sources such as the stout volumes published by the University of Chicago Press. When opportunity offers time spent in reading the writings of the older economists will prove helpful, but if a choice must be made read of things as they now are. An ever-ready source of information is the valuable "Dictionary of Political Economy," by Polgrave. For current information one may find material in numerous publications. However, one will probably accomplish more by depending on such publications as the financial section of the Saturday edition of the "New York Evening Post," "The Analyst," and "The Business Digest." A wonderfully clear and concise bulletin is that gotten out monthly by the National City Bank of New York. This is a working list, and once familiar with the material suggested any other needed can be easily known about.

When every German merchant of importance is a trained economist, when Englishmen are urging as never before a similar training, when American business men see that their employees study economics, it is time that all should know at least the elementary principles. It is very certain that economic facts have become psychological forces, and were largely responsible for the great world conflict. For most secondary school students there will be no opportunity after school from which to learn except experience, and since instruction is cheap and experience dear, they deserve to be taught now. And, after all, it is by the breath of the school children that the nation shall be saved.

"An Outline of the History of Democracy," by Dr. Harry E. Barnes, has been printed in pamphlet form. The article is a reprint from the 1918 edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. It traces the history of democracy from ancient and medieval times down to the present, and it is accompanied by an extended bibliography.

Guiding Principles in American History Teaching

BY H. B. WILSON, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, TOPEKA, KANSAS.

Great crises serve not only the ends which gave them birth, but they likewise frequently afford large by-product values. The Great War has already rendered abundant service in the latter respect, although the issues which launched it and gave it momentum remain as yet unsolved. Although it seriously interfered with the routine of higher education, the Great War nevertheless made large contributions to the shaping of our educational programs through showing us the valuable and indispensable in education in contrast with the ordinary and commonplace, and through emphasizing the balanced views and the true relationships that education should seek to establish. The contributions to the remaking of our history texts and to the re-direction of our history teaching is one of the most noticeable by-products thus far of the Great War.

In the preface to his recent book on "The American Revolution in Our School Text-books," after observing that from the first of the Great War there has been a very strong pro-French sentiment in the United States, while there is no such broad and popular manifestation in favor of the English, Mr. C. Altschul asks:

"Why, then, have we not rallied in a much greater measure to the moral support of England in this world upheaval? Why did not the sympathy of the largest proportion of our people go out to the English rather than to any other nation?"

He answers his own question tentatively by remarking:

"It has occurred to me that the explanation of this phenomenon lies in the way in which facts of history, superficially studied without due regard to surrounding circumstances, determine our views in later life, especially if lodged in that mysterious storehouse, 'the sub-conscious,' during childhood, when the spirit in which instruction is given leaves a more indelible mark than do the facts themselves. Impressions gained during the early years of school-life may possibly have had a far-reaching influence in instilling a prejudice against the country whose control we repudiated in the Revolutionary War. Such a prejudice, once engendered, would be very likely to distort one's vision in connection with everything that relates to the same subject, and yet leave one totally unaware of the part those very school-day influences play in forming one's present opinions."

In pursuit of his inquiry, and as a means of testing the correctness of his tentative answer to it, Mr. Altschul conducted an extended investigation throughout the United States to determine the text-books in use twenty years or more ago in the teaching of American history, and the text-books now in use in teaching the same subject. In response to his inquiry, 68 replies were received, so distributed that all the States

in the Union are represented. The returns showed a total of 93 different text-books, 40 of which were in use twenty years or more ago, and 53 of which are now in use. The chapters in each of these texts devoted to the Revolutionary period in American history were subjected to a critical study and tabulation. The total extracts from the 93 texts produced 134 pages of printed matter in the book issued reporting the results of his investigation. Follow the completion of his task, he reaches the following conclusions:

"The great majority of history text-books, used in our public schools more than twenty years ago, gave a very incomplete picture of general political conditions in England prior to the American Revolution, and either did not refer at all to the greatest efforts made by prominent Englishmen in behalf of the Colonists, or mentioned them casually.

"The number of separate history text-books which gave this incomplete picture was not only much larger than the number of those giving more complete information, but the former circulated in many more communities throughout the country than the latter.

"The public mind must thereby have been prejudiced against England.

"The children now studying American history in the public schools have a far greater number of text-books available which give relatively complete information on this subject, but the improvement is by no means sufficiently marked to prevent continued growth of unfounded prejudice against England."

Quite obviously Mr. Altschul's investigation was concerned with but one small item in the big question which is urging itself upon the attention of educators generally as to what the objectives or outcomes in our young people should be as a result of the teaching of American history. Historians and history teachers have always discussed this topic, and while some investigations regarding the essential content of elementary American history have recently been made by experts who have been endeavoring to standardize the content of the elementary curriculum in the various subjects, yet not until we found our own nation involved in the present crisis, which we now recognize amounts to an impending catastrophe, did this question really take possession of us in a fundamental and conduct-influencing way.

Mr. Altschul assumes, in accordance with the experience of common-sense and the teachings of modern psychology, that our appreciations and prejudices arise out of our knowledge (including related experiences) and out of the spirit and attitude accompanying its impartation, or, stated from the student's standpoint, out of the spirit and attitude actuating the learner during mastery. Evidently Professor James T. Shotwell, of the History Department of Columbia University, agrees with Mr. Altschul in this

assumption, for he says in his introduction to Mr. Altschul's book:

"The Great War has shown the importance of the teaching of history in the formation of national ideals, . . . and upon that teaching rests to a large degree our conception as to the character of nations and national policies."

It is perfectly clear, of course, that if lack of appreciation and unjust prejudices result from the untrue and unfair handling of facts, adequate appreciations and right prejudices (prejudices in favor of what should be approved as well as prejudices against what should be condemned) may be expected to develop upon the basis of knowledge resulting from a true, fair, and just presentation and teaching of the facts and issues of any matter.

Of even greater importance, perhaps, surely of co-ordinate importance with teaching the facts of American history truly and fairly, is the presentation of these facts in such a way as to emphasize and impress their relative importance. Not only is a *true knowledge* of the facts of our national development essential to efficient citizenship in our democracy, but the facts of our history must be properly graded and evaluated in light of their relative importance in revealing the progressive development of our democratic institutions. All would doubtless agree, for example, that the fact of Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean in 1513 does not rank in importance with the fact of Columbus' discovery of America in 1492. Nor do the dates of the settling of the Virginia and Massachusetts colonies carry the significance attached to the character of the settlers of these colonies, to the objects of their coming, and to the principles guiding their colonial development. Nor again are the minor battles of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars equal in importance to the decisive battles of Saratoga, Yorktown, Gettysburg, and Appomattox. Likewise, no one would contend that the fugitive slave law and the Dred Scott decision were as important in relation to the slavery question as the invention of the cotton gin and the Emancipation Proclamation. So, also, great as was the loss of Hamilton to the struggling nation, it did not equal in its consequences the effects of the assassination of Lincoln.

Not only must the facts in any phase of our history, as the political or governmental, be so presented and taught as to impress their relative importance, but the adequate presentation and teaching of our history requires that all phases of history shall be adequately taught and evaluated with reference to each other. It is necessary, therefore, that our texts and teaching shall give adequate attention to inventions, manufacturing, labor and other social conditions, literary development, art, education, medicine, and other sciences, in such way as to show the bearing of each fact presented on the successful development of our institutional life and on the progressive evolution of our governmental principles and institutions. So treated, each fact will not only be given due weight and importance in the phase of history to

which it belongs, but likewise in the sum total of facts comprised in all the phases of American history.

It is with reference to programs of formal education rather than the means of incidental training that we need to be concerned, that the knowledge imparted may not only be true to the situations dealt with, but right in the significance assigned to all facts, in order that the appreciations and prejudices developed upon the basis of this knowledge may be safe guides to the conduct of the oncoming citizens. Especially in a democracy is it indispensable to teach the truth with fairness to all the issues and peoples concerned, and with the intent to establish the correct relative value of facts and events, for under such a form of government, the wishes and will of the people as influenced by the appreciations and prejudices resulting from their knowledge, determine not only what shall be done, but with what zeal and enthusiasm they prosecute a line of action. Many thoughtful people believe that the large reason for what we now feel was America's tardy entrance into the Great War was the necessity that the President and Congress were under of waiting until the American citizens were sufficiently informed to appreciate the imperative necessity of joining our allies in the defense of democracy against the encroachments of autocracy.

Educators must face the question in all seriousness as to whether the schools should not, through the teaching of history, have established such a thorough appreciation of the assets of our democracy and of democratic governments everywhere, and such well-founded and deep-seated prejudices against the objectionable features of autocratic governments that President Wilson and the United States Congress would have felt immediately the pressure of the rank and file of our citizenship demanding that we leap to the discharge of our responsibility to resent and defend by force any encroachment upon the rights of defenseless nations and of democracy, whose essence is that any people any place shall be privileged to exercise their right to live and govern themselves as they choose.

While we are not now concerned with the type of formal education appropriate to train those people who live under an autocratic form of government for satisfactory citizenship, it may render clearer the educational problem in our democracy to remark here that only the leaders—those who dominate under autocratic governments—are responsible for determining policies and initiating action. Their educational programs may, therefore, provide adequate training for those only who direct the government—as they claim, for the best interests of the people. In light of this theory, autocracy's educational program for the common people, the rank and file, provides only such information and training, at least so far as governmental affairs are concerned, as is essential to efficiency in obeying the orders of the ruling class. The attitude of the German autocratic government, for example, toward its people is well typified by the attitude of the German school teacher toward his

pupils. A German pupil never asks a question; the teachers, as they boastfully report, tell them all they need to know. "Listen to me, so that you can tell me back what I am telling you," is a common direction of the German schoolmaster to his pupils.

Perhaps it may not be out of place to remark here rather parenthetically, that "for more than a hundred years the German government has been telling the people all they need to know, and training them to repeat it faithfully in word and deed. The people on their part have listened so long to the voice of the state that their ears are dulled to every other sound. The dominant idea from first to last is the greatness and glory of Germany, especially as embodied in the brilliant figure and personality of the great Kaiser. Without these schools, 'telling the pupils all they need to know,' there could never have been the extraordinary spectacle of medieval autocracy projected into the twentieth century among a people otherwise lightly intellectualized."

If the above discussion is correct in maintaining that in a democracy, where the sovereign will is the will of the people, it is the business of the school to educate all the people according to the requirements of truth and fairness and a proper sense of values, what specific limitations are thereby placed upon our American history texts and upon our teaching of the same? Only a brief, rather an illustrative, answer will be given here to the question raised, as the main purpose herein is to state the principles of American history teaching rather than to show their detailed application. If there is agreement upon the principles, their application is rather an easy task.

In the first place, where necessary, our histories must be rewritten in the interest of presenting adequately and fairly the truth regarding all questions and issues discussed. The account at all points must be as fair, so far as is possible with present knowledge, to other nations involved as to our own. The creation of unjustifiable prejudices in favor of or against England, France, Mexico, Spain, or other nations, must be avoided. The story of the Civil War must be so presented as to represent truly and fairly the objects and motives as well as the successes and failures of both sides to the conflict.

In the second place, the emphasis in both our texts and teaching must be such as to support as strongly as possible the maintenance, improvement, and perpetuation of our American ideals and institutions. Even the possibility must be avoided of teaching the early discoveries, explorations, and settlements as comparable in importance with (1) the struggle of the Colonists against taxation without representation; (2) the Declaration of Independence; (3) the struggle for and the winning of freedom by the Colonies; (4) the Constitutional Convention; (5) the freeing of the slaves; (6) the maintenance of the Union, and so on. Nor must mere traditions, interesting incidents, nor even battles and military heroes, be presented on a par with situations causing struggles and the victories and advances resulting from successful struggles.

From this time forward, we shall certainly modify our attack in the matter of emphasis in such fashion as to teach more adequately and thoroughly than in the past the peculiar and characteristic genius of American institutions and the permanent and outstanding assets of our democracy. Not only must we present these matters positively as in the past, showing what democracy's assets are (representative government, trial by jury, no taxation without representation, free speech, a free press, habeas corpus, the right of petition, the right of protest, the right of public assembly, etc.), and how we came by them; but also negatively that the advantage of democracy's institutions may be impressed more forcibly when studied in contrast with autocracy's governmental institutions and with the limited privileges and rights of people living under the same.

Even our positive attack needs to be enlivened and vitalized. It has lacked enthusiasm and has had little effect upon our students except to equip them with a certain body of academic information, in which they had merely a passive interest. Our students have not gone from their study of the growth and development of American institutions tingling with enthusiasm over our priceless heritage and spurred on with high ambitions for the advancement and perpetuation of our democratic institutions by reason of their growing appreciation. Rather, they have gone from their study with an attitude suggesting that they felt the fine freedom and privileges under our democracy were forever guaranteed—that since they were enjoying them without themselves having had to sacrifice for them, they had always existed so and would continue so forever. Our positive attack must be so improved and enriched as to change this passive, indifferent attitude into a virile, aggressive appreciation of our great heritage, and into a positive determination not only not to countenance or tolerate any encroachment upon our democratic institutions, but to lose no opportunity to work for their constant strengthening and improvement.

Nor must we be satisfied with this improved positive attack. We must enrich the effects it may be expected to produce by showing the disadvantages, the hampering effects of autocratic governments. In teaching the causes of America's entrance into the Great War, our students must understand clearly that we became a participant not merely to protect our property and our lives and to preserve our honor; but to prevent the substitution by German force of autocratic forms of government for our free, democratic institutions. In this connection our students must understand concretely such matters as Germany's mock system of representative government, her unequal franchise system, in which the influence a citizen's ballot exercises is based upon his financial standing, her social caste system, with particular emphasis upon the haughty arrogance and insulting cruelty of the military class, and especially her teachings, ideals, and philosophy, which foster and fasten upon her citizens the medieval governmental system under which they live.

Only by this double attack may we expect to succeed in equipping the American people so that they know and feel in their inmost souls that our democracy is a pearl without price. Such a basis for decision and action should in any time of danger cause our citizens to rise as one man to defend with their backs to the wall any encroachment upon our free institutions and the rights guaranteed thereby. Such a response in a democracy not being the result of blind automatic obedience to duty, as in an autocracy, but a response based upon well founded appreciations in reference to American institutions and deep-seated prejudices against the hampering effects of autocratic governments, would launch a defense with such speed and momentum, and it would be supported throughout by such lofty and humanitarian motives as to render our efforts irresistible.

As has been pointed out above, our need is such texts and teaching as will guarantee greater and truer intelligence as a basis for action. We must teach the American youth the foundations of their liberty and acquaint them with the storms which for centuries raged around the building of those foundations, and familiarize them with the sacrifice and suffering incident to their establishment. With such a background of information, our citizens would appreciate more fully the stirring words of Washington when he said, "American freedom is at stake; it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke and maintain the liberty which we derived from our ancestors." Not until our youth are taught the whole

story of the struggle for the free institutions under which we live, will it be appreciated that it was by reason of the victories won through centuries of warfare that the spirit of freedom was alive in the hearts of the American colonists sufficiently that they resented the arrogance and tyranny of George III and his corrupted parliament.

Our citizens must genuinely realize that by the winning of our independence and by succeeding struggles, the Thirteen Colonies were made safe for democracy; by the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 and its successful defense since, the American continents were made safe for democracy. At the conclusion of the Great War, we confidently expect to be able to say, by reason of the united efforts of the democracies of the world against the combined forces of the autocratic governments of the world, that the entire world has been made safe for democracy. Our teaching must be so improved that our oncoming citizens shall become intimately acquainted with the dangerous evolutionary steps by which, since the settlement of the Western Hemisphere and during a period of more than a thousand years preceding in Europe, liberty-loving people advanced to our present freedom. Upon the basis of such thoroughly adequate training, and only so, can we hope to establish that background of knowledge essential to those appreciations and prejudices which may be relied upon to produce those decisions and that action which will guarantee both the safety and improvement of American democratic institutions.

Supervised Study of Eighth Year History

BY MISS HALLIE FARMER, HIGH SCHOOL, MUNCIE, INDIANA.

When the pupils from the grades enter the junior high school, a marked deterioration in work often follows. This is not surprising. Greater freedom, larger classes, the smaller amount of individual attention on the part of the teacher all tend to cause poorer work during this period of readjustment. The result is a deplorable number of failures in the eighth year.

It was to overcome this evil that supervised study was introduced into the Junior High School of Muncie, Indiana. The plan for supervising history study which follows has served to decrease the number of failures very materially. The plan is not perfect, of course. It is being modified continually. Other teachers may be able to modify it still further to solve peculiar problems in their own schools. It is merely offered as a suggested solution for a very vexing problem.

By the end of the eighth year pupils are expected:

1. To be able to use simple reference books and interpret historical maps.
2. To study an assigned lesson from an outline.
3. To outline for themselves lessons which are fairly well organized in the textbook.

In the beginning the pupils are assisted to work out a definite study plan in a series of conversation lessons on the subject, "What is the best way to study a history lesson?" They can easily be led to formulate some such rules as the following:

1. Read the assigned lesson carefully.
2. Consult the dictionary for definitions, pronunciations, etc. Locate places mentioned on the map.
3. Re-read the lesson, keeping in mind the information gained in (2).
4. With book closed consult the assignment. If you find that you are uncertain about any point, consult your text again.

The assignment in the beginning is usually a list of carefully chosen questions, because this is the form of assignment with which the children are most familiar. After the plan is worked out some days are spent in studying lessons together. The children are then given an assignment and left to prepare it without assistance. While the teacher is always present to give needed aid, pupils are encouraged to be independent in this work.

The first reference books which the children are taught to use are the encyclopedia, gazetteer and

biographical dictionary. Gradually other text-books are introduced as reference works. Usually it is necessary here to teach the use of the index and the footnotes in reference books.

The transition from the question to the outline form of assignment is easy. If the children are required to expand the various points in the outline into questions, they soon discover the outline assignment to be an old friend in disguise.

The most difficult step in the entire course is teaching the children to outline their own work. This is a most important step because it is here that the pupil learns to analyze and organize his work for himself. The aim of supervised study is to make the child able to study without the teacher as soon as possible. When he is able to outline a lesson for himself he has

shown himself able to master his text (or texts) without aid. This is the end to be reached by supervised study.

The same plan is followed which was used in the beginning. The children are familiar with the outline form from their assignments. The form is discussed, some drill is given in selecting main topics and sub-topics, then the children are given a lesson to outline, the teacher giving individual help where it is needed.

Thus the pupil has been led from dependence upon the teacher to dependence upon himself. He has come into possession of the tools necessary for the study of history and, given the tools, he is fitted to make his high school history course both pleasant and profitable.

An Experiment in Individual Instruction in History

BY BESSIE L. PIERCE, UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL, IOWA CITY, IOWA.

The usual group method of conducting recitations is characterized by two glaring and obvious faults: the ignoring of physical and mental differences in pupils and the tendency toward too great teacher-activity with its resultant pupil-passivity.

In the customary question and answer lesson, with a class of twenty, the average of verbal participation of each member approximates not over one minute in a class hour of fifty minutes. The rest of the time the student is an auditor, and, unless interest be keen or be stimulated constantly, part of this time may be lost.

Through observation it has been demonstrated that teachers consume the major part of the class hour in propounding questions. In visiting different teachers for ten consecutive times in a high school of good standing, Professor E. E. Lewis, of the State University of Iowa, found that the average rate of questioning of the history teachers visited was at least three questions a minute, varying from fifty-two questions in seventeen minutes to one hundred and forty-five questions in forty minutes.¹ Obviously this high rate of questioning produces either extreme nervous tension in teacher and pupil, or provides a medium for inattention to those students not questioned. Nor does such a method take cognizance of the differences in individuals, but adapts itself to the pace set by the average.

Recognizing these faults in our customary procedure, two years ago at the University High School at Iowa City, a method of individual instruction in history was devised. For the purpose of experimentation, a class of twenty, who had been instructed according to the group recitation plan the first semester, was divided into two sections at the opening of the second semester. Nine were placed in a class in which the usual group method was to be used; eleven in a section in which individual progress was to be

given paramount consideration. As nearly as possible, the class was divided equally in regard to mental ability. Unfortunately for the individual plan, the two poorest pupils fell to that division, so that the group section, on the whole, was probably the better in native endowment.

Each class was given mimeographed sets of questions over definite page assignments in the text, outside reading, outlines, maps, and other characteristic treatments of history lessons. The group class received a definite assignment for each day, whereas those in the individual instruction section were told to proceed as rapidly as they could.

It was impossible for the teacher to hear each pupil over every assignment in the individual method class, so she decided to pursue the following plan: The child who had the most advanced assignment would recite to her, then he in turn could hear some one else over the assignment upon which he had been checked by the teacher. The child who had been heard by the pupil first checked by the teacher could hear a third over the work, and thus on. In so far as possible the teacher heard not only the pupil standing highest, but others not so well advanced. Grades were determined largely by periodic, written tests over a definite number of assignments. These tests were arbitrarily set by the instructor, for the purpose of keeping the pupils up to a minimum standard. This may seem inconsistent with the general scheme, but it was deemed necessary in order to insure some progress in those pupils who might need a prod; it was no hindrance to those pupils of ambitious tendencies. The test questions were based largely on outside readings and the text requirements. Those pupils who failed in a test were obliged to recite all of the assignments involved to the teacher before another opportunity to take the test was granted. All written work was read by the instructor—outlines, themes, and notebooks, as well as the tests, forming a basis by which the teacher might grade the student.

¹ E. E. Lewis, "The Questioning Activity of High School Teachers," *Midland Schools*, February, 1916.

The same test was given in the group method class. A comparison of the test grades received in the first six examinations follows:

<i>Group Section</i>	<i>Individual Section</i>
3 A	3 A
5 A—	6 A—
2 B+	4 B+
0 B	6 B
0 B—	8 B—
6 C+	9 C+
8 C	3 C
9 C—	0 C—
0 D+	9 D+
10 D	8 D

The above does not include four test grades for two pupils in the individual method section who did not finish the course. In our marking system, A represents unusual work, B superior, C average, and D below average, but passing, E passing only. The above tabulation would seem to indicate that the child in the individual recitation plan prepared his lesson more thoroughly than under the group method.

Each day the pupils were asked to report the amount of time spent on a lesson outside of the class hour. In this, it was found that the child in the individual instruction system outstripped his fellow in the group method class.

At the end of fifteen weeks, forty-five assignments had been covered by the group section. In the individual method division the number ranged from sixty assignments to twenty-one. In this group, six students had completed from two to fifteen more assignments than had been covered by the group class.

To get the reaction of the pupils toward the new plan at the end of the semester, they were asked to write candidly and freely their attitude, not signing names to their papers. They were to base their statements upon the following questions:

Which kind of instruction do you prefer, group or individual?

Would you like to return to the group plan next year?

Under which system do you study the more?

To the first they gave an unanimous endorsement of the individual instruction plan, with the exception of one girl who objected because it took too much time to keep up with the others. None, excepting this girl, wished to return to the old method, and all asserted that they spent more time in preparation than under the group plan.

One of the striking factors in the individual class discipline was the wholesome and good-natured rivalry existing, not only among these ranking well in the work, but among those whose work was below average. The record was kept upon graph paper, each square representing an assignment, and was open for the inspection of the class at all times. When an assignment was completed, the square was marked off with the date upon which the work was done. Thus each child was able to watch his own progress as well as that of his classmates.

The plan was continued in tenth grade history the following year. For the year's credit, one hundred and seventy-three assignments were required. These included 694 pages of text-book work, and 1,100 pages of readings and outlines in other books. When five-sixths of the year was over, the individual method class had covered the following number of assignments: 156, 154, 152, 143, 141, 139, 125, 99, 98, 90, 83, 79, 60.

To discover whether there were a relationship between the progress in history and the mental ability of the child, the results of some mental tests given by the Child Welfare Station were consulted. In general, the correlation is striking. The exceptions are easily explained either because of persistency in study or the lack of it. The accompanying table shows the correlation:

<i>Pupil</i>	<i>Rank in History</i>	<i>Rank in Mental Tests</i>
A ²	1	8
B	2	1
C	3	2
D	4	6
E	5	3
F	6	4
G ³	7	12
H	8	7
J	9	9
K	10	13
L	11	11
M ⁴	12	5

When confronted with the plan of individualizing the history recitation, teachers often remark that it may be good theoretically, but that it is not feasible. The data presented may serve to prove that it can be applied successfully. Many of the results are intangible and cannot be tabulated, as for example, the interest of the class. However, unstinted and unwavering industry and interest on the part of the members of the individual instruction group were its daily characteristics. The teacher believes that if one wishes the pupils to get the subject-matter thoroughly and to make rapid progress, or progress commensurate with their ability, the scheme is admirable.

The chief criticism which the teacher sees in the plan is its lack of socialization. To her the history recitation should be more than the drill of certain facts. It should give opportunity for a discussion of world movements, with the interplay of teacher and pupil ideas; it should constantly relate present-day problems to the topic in hand. Yet, with these objections clearly in her mind, she realizes that the individual method developed in the pupils self-reliance, a desire for rapid advancement, a thoroughness of preparation, and a lively interest in the work.

² Persistent student.

³ Persistent student, but ill at ease when given mental tests.

⁴ Girl of ability, but no student.

Notes from the Historical Field

Longmans, Green & Company have issued a pamphlet of fifty-six pages, entitled, "History and Government of New Jersey," by Daniel C. Knowlton, of Newark, N. J., as a supplement to Woodburn and Moran's "Elementary American History and Government." Each section is provided with questions and suggestions and several references for additional reading.

"Women in the War" is the title of a bibliography prepared by the News Department, Woman's Committee of the Field Division of the Council of National Defense. Such topics as Child Welfare, Education, and Women in Industry are treated according to nations, and books and magazine articles bearing on these important aspects of the life of women are listed. This pamphlet of seventy-seven pages may be had by applying to Field Division, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Harold J. Laski, of Harvard University, contributes an essay on the "Problem of Administrative Areas" in *Smith College Studies in History* for October, 1918. In his keen and illuminating manner Mr. Laski considers the difficulty of modern democracy to maintain individuality and originality in the efficient administration of large areas. "A large measure of popular supervision" in business and trade is the necessary condition for successful economic reconstruction after the war.

The Department of Public Instruction of Michigan has published a 234-page booklet by George N. Fuller, Ph.D. The title, "Democracy and the Great War," expresses the scope and character of the pamphlet—the political and moral causes and issues of the war. An excellent bibliography of forty-eight pages is included. The chapters are short, clear and to the point.

History, the quarterly journal of the (English) Historical Association, for October, 1918, contains an interesting sketch of the life of the late Pasquale Villari. Prof. Powicke gives an illuminating review of M. Flach's recent book on France in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Under Historical Revisions, Prof. Pollard reinterprets the phrase, "No taxation without representation," and shows that it was not a cause for the American Revolution.

A "Syllabus of European History" has been prepared by Oscar H. Williams, High School Inspector, State of Indiana, to accompany Harding's "New Medieval and Modern History." It is a booklet of ninety-seven pages, dividing the history from Charlemagne to the Great War into thirty-seven sections and 165 topics. It may well be used with other textbooks than that for which it is prepared, or may be used independently. In any case, it will make the work of the pupil systematic and definite. Outline maps are frequently interspersed and each section is provided with additional reading references and constructive studies to develop investigation of historical problems. The publisher is the American Book Company.

Mr. Raymond G. Taylor, recently promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of History and Civics of the Kansas State Agricultural College, died of pneumonia on October 14. Mr. Taylor was the author of a number of historical outlines and a contributor to the historical magazines. An article from his pen in *The History Teacher's Magazine* for December, 1917, was entitled, "The Importance of the Agricultural Revolution." Mr. Taylor was an energetic and enterprising worker, one who was much interested in the newer aspects of history teaching. His loss will be felt by

many, not only in his own institution, but in outside circles as well.

The volume of the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" for November, 1918—*The Rehabilitation of the Wounded*—contains two articles of more than passing interest, that on "Military Surgery in 1861 and 1918" and that on "Returning the Disabled Soldier to Economic Independence."

LONDON HISTORICAL HEADQUARTERS.

Now that the resort to London archives and libraries on the part of American historical students is likely to be resumed, perhaps on an increased scale, it is desirable to remind them of the existence of the London headquarters of the American Historical Association, a commodious room in the building of the Royal Historical Society at 22 Russell Square, in a locality convenient to both the Public Record Office and the British Museum. Here American students of history working in London may have opportunities of meeting, of keeping their papers in a safe place, and occasionally of obtaining guidance from the secretary of the London branch of the Association. They also receive advantages from the presence in the same building of the offices of the Royal Historical Society and of the Historical Association (of English teachers), and by the kindness of the former are given the privileges of its library. These headquarters were acquired shortly before the war, have been little used during its continuance, but should henceforward be made a meeting-point of real importance to American scholarship. The London branch has a simple organization, with Lord Bryce as chairman, Mr. Hubert Hall vice-chairman, Mr. A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, secretary, and Mr. H. P. Biggar, treasurer. The executive committee consists of these officers and of the three senior members (senior in college graduation) actually present in London or enrolled at the headquarters. A fee of 12 sh. is charged, which covers incidental expenses, the rent being paid by the American Historical Association.—*American Historical Review*.

PRUSSIAN SCHOOLS.

"The new Prussian Minister of Education has issued an appeal to the teachers and pupils of the higher schools in which he outlines the reforms proposed for the whole educational system. These all centered in an effort to liberalize courses and to free methods of instruction and discipline from former routine and restraint. In his address to the teachers he insists that instructors shall lay emphasis upon scientific regard for truth and that political propaganda shall be strictly avoided.

"Germany's fearful defeat imposes a severe test upon the insight and character of our public school teachers. A natural impulse exists to cultivate a feeling of hatred and revenge in the young people toward our enemies, in the belief that we are trying to awaken a higher sentiment of patriotism among the pupils. We must seriously resist this cheap, shortsighted, harmful form of patriotism. Hatred and revenge are never to be taught to children, even though our enemies do us obvious injustice. The thoughts of a war of revenge must not enter into our school courses. We must build up in the children an expectation and desire that international hatred will eventually disappear from the earth, and that this is the last war in which we shall ever engage. We are firmly resolved that the school, at least, shall never again become a seed bed for national hatred and military glorification."—*Frankfurter Zeitung*, December 5, 1918.

BOOK REVIEWS

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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

SIMPSON, MABEL E. *Supervised Study in American History*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. xiv, 278. \$1.20.

Emphasis on the importance of giving explicit instruction to children as to how to study history is always timely and clearly salutary. Nor is it likely to be too frequently emphasized that successful study of history must involve more than the mere reading over the lesson. To make effective the study processes that are necessary the teacher must supply the pupil with both stimulus and guidance, and supervised study is believed by many to stand for the maximum of these elements. The plan of this book is directed at the seventh and eighth grades, and is developed with much detail respecting both divisions of subject-matter and methods of assigning it. The many teachers who have been curious about this method of directing work in history will find in this presentation much that is suggestive.

POOLE, ERNEST. "The Dark People: Russia's Crisis." New York: Macmillan, 1918. Pp. 226. \$1.50.

One would not have to be familiar with the previous work of Ernest Poole to be able to say, after reading a few pages of "The Dark People," that he is both journalist and novelist. The instinct of the writer is for picture and conversation. Descriptions of places and scenes are varied and vivid. The characters who appear, Kerensky, Tchaikovsky, Verkovsky, and others, are sharp and definite, but impressive of human quality. The bulk of the writing is cast in the form of interviews with typical Russians. As he passes in review the political situation, the army, the railroads, the church, the industrial and agricultural problems, he turns successively to chats with politicians, soldiers, commissioners, churchmen, manufacturers, workmen and peasants. This method, which makes the book seem a symposium on the war and the revolution, with only interpretative comment, allows the author to set forth conflicting views and contrary opinions without unduly reflecting his own bias. It imparts a tone of candor to the discussion that is refreshing.

Throughout the entire book there is constant reversion to the peasant as the real and fundamental factor in Russia. It is especially interesting to have a socialist take the point of view not of the city, but of the country. His thesis is that "all the problems in Russia to-day lead, sooner or later, back to 'The Dark People' in the villages. Until the peasant is satisfied, nothing is settled, nothing is sure. 'They make the Russian nation, and they will make its government. And because this is not a matter of months, but of years, perhaps a generation, there is no reason why we should dismiss them impatiently from our thoughts.'"

Mr. Poole had the advantage of visiting Russia at the time of the revolution in 1905, and he observes an admirable impartiality, recording the bitterness of some against the Bolsheviks, the enthusiasm of others, but being restrained in his own comment with regard to them. Again and again he develops the hostility existing between town and country, so common as to be normal in revolutionary times. He brings out the contrast between the turbulence that occasionally prevails in industrial centers, the violence and destructiveness of the rioting, and, on the other hand,

the calm, placid and orderly life of the peasant with its poverty and suffering.

One instinctively inquires what it is that Mr. Poole wants. As the book develops the answer becomes clearer and clearer. He wants us to realize that the future lies not in politics, but in educational and agricultural advance. His intent is to teach us patience and to impress upon us the need for schools and agricultural machinery of respectable quality and in abundant quantity, and above all the need for time.

This brief book of only 226 pages and 60,000 words is absorbing reading from cover to cover. While it is descriptive rather than critical, it is discriminating in its selection of material, deft in its handling, and sympathetic in tone.

HENRY M. WRISTON.

Wesleyan University.

PITMAN, FRANK WESLEY. *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917. Pp. xiv, 495. \$2.50.

The present interest in the history and the problems of the British Empire has inspired an extensive literature on imperial and colonial subjects, to which Dr. Pitman's study in the economic history of the West Indies will prove a timely and valuable addition. The author has limited his investigations to the period 1700-1763, and discusses such important topics as social life, the problem of white labor, negro slavery and the slave trade, foreign commerce, and economic organization. The study has all the virtues belonging to historical monographs of the higher class; it is based on long-continued and thorough research; it is clear and exact in statement; and the text is not burdened with minute or unnecessary details. The author has gathered the statistical materials into a series of charts and appendices, and has added a fairly adequate map of the entire West India region.

For the teacher of American history the value of Dr. Pitman's study lies chiefly in its last four chapters (XI-XIV) in which he discusses the conflict of interest between the British colonies in the Caribbean region and those on the mainland of North America. The islands in the West Indies were sugar colonies, while the settlements on the mainland produced lumber and provisions in various forms, such as meat and more particularly fish. There was no market for these products in England, but the British Government saw no reason why they should not be disposed of in the West Indies. The English sugar colonies could not, however, consume all the products of the northern dominions; at the same time they were unable to compete successfully with their more thrifty French neighbors, who sold their sugar products at a considerably lower price. To force the North American merchants to trade with the English West Indies parliament passed the Molasses Act of 1733, which was in some measure responsible for the colonial revolt in 1775. Dr. Pitman traces in detail the history of the act, the agitation that preceded its passage, and the futile attempts to carry it into effect. Interesting, too, is the author's account of the efforts on the part of the Caribbean planters to prevent the English government from annexing the French sugar islands in the treaty of 1763. Dr. Pitman sums up this part of his work in the following significant sentence: "The West India planting interest had laid substantial foundations in the realm of economic life for that great discontent which culminated in the American Revolution."

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

University of Illinois.

VIOLETTE, EUGENE MORROW. *A History of Missouri*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1918. Pp. xxxiii, 500. \$1.60.

The student of Missouri is fortunate in his field of study. Missouri, historically, is a keystone state, and its development has been determined in an unusual degree by the main currents of American life. Its geographical location in the lower valley of the Missouri River indicated an early settlement in the French and Spanish period, and it was in the logic of history that the point of the advancing wedge of western expansion should cross the Mississippi at St. Louis. This situation brought Missouri into sharp national importance in the controversy culminating in the Missouri Compromise, connected Missouri in a vital way with far western expansion and settlement, and, through its mixed population, made the state debatable ground during the Civil War.

In this study, therefore, Professor Violette has happily departed from the traditional chronological and purely local method of treating state history. He has used a topical method instead, and has made his history a series of studies at those points where Missouri most vitally touched the development of the nation. This may be illustrated in a random choice of chapter headings: Early French Settlements in Missouri, Conditions in Missouri During the Spanish Period, Indian Troubles During the War of 1812, The Struggle of Missouri for Statehood, Early Banking in Missouri, Missouri and the Far West, The Railroads of Missouri, Slavery in Missouri, etc.

While footnote citations to authorities are not given, a critical bibliography accompanies each chapter, and the work appears to be based upon a careful examination of the secondary sources, to a lesser extent on the primary sources. The style is natural and clear, easily holding the attention. The life of the people is emphasized, and the result is always a vivid and realistic picture of the particular period. Well chosen and varied illustrations of men, buildings, river craft, etc., supplement the text, and a large number of maps, particularly a series in color setting forth the development of county boundaries, help to make the political geography of the state understandable. The index is satisfactory and exhaustive. W. WALLACE CARSON.

DePauw University.

PELZER, LOUIS. *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*. An account of the marches and activities of the First Regiment, United States Dragoons, in the Mississippi Valley between the years 1833 and 1850. Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917. Pp. 282. \$2.50.

This book is of permanent value because of its accurate account of the services of this early American army in the protection of American settlements west of the Mississippi, in the guarding of the valuable commercial caravans on their way to and from Santa Fe, and those of the Oregon emigrants in the trail to the South West Pass. From the reading of this book we can secure a proper evaluation of the great work done by the Dragoons in overawing the Indians, aiding in Indian removals, and finally in assisting to wrest New Mexico and California from Mexico as a natural result of American expansion whose process has already been so accurately told by Dr. Jameson in *THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE* of February, 1914.

As the biographer of Henry Dodge, Mr. Pelzer was properly the one to produce the volume on The Dragoons. He might well, however, have made it a little clearer to his readers that the volunteer rangers founded by Dodge suggested the formation of the regulars, the Dragoons for operation on the frontier. Exceedingly valuable would have been

the inclusion of a review of the early history of the Wisconsin lead mines, the Winnebago outbreak and the Black Hawk war of 1832. His account would thereby have been properly connected with the related events on the Mississippian side of the West.

Negligible are the few minor errors found by the critical specialist. A few misspelt Indian names cannot here be noted by one who has never as yet found agreement among the scholars as to the correct spelling of the names of many of the tribes of the original Americans.

The book is attractively printed and bound. The maps and few illustrations such as the portraits of Dodge and Kearney with the reproductions of some of the drawings of Catlin increase one's interest in the book. In the appendix is found Captain Nathan Boone's Journal of an Expedition over the Western Prairies. This is from the original in the possession of the Iowa Society.

Unfortunately the book continues the unsatisfactory practice of all Iowa Society publications of placing the notes and references at the back of the book instead of inserting them in their proper places as footnotes to the proper pages.

R. B. WAY.

Beloit College.

FARIS, JOHN T. *Old Roads Out of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1918. 117 illustrations and a map. Pp. viii, 327. \$4.00.

This attractive volume is not only of local interest, but it also makes an appeal to all those who desire to become better acquainted with Philadelphia and its vicinity, a region unique in its natural beauties and rich in its historical associations. Philadelphia and its environs are particularly fortunate in the preservation of so large a number of the ancient buildings and surroundings in much the state in which they were a century or more ago. This lends reality as well as charm to a historical pilgrimage along any one of the old turnpikes so fully described in this volume.

The opening chapter is devoted to Old Philadelphia and its historic shrines. This is followed by a separate chapter on each of the ten famous old roads, which radiate fanlike from the city to the region west of the Delaware. Several of these roads date from the early years of the colonial period, and each of them is reminiscent of many interesting events and characters that make up the warp and woof of the history of this part of the country.

This volume will serve as an excellent guide alike to the pedestrian or the automobilist. The historically-minded pleasure seeker, whatever may be his means of travel, with this volume at hand, will be tempted to make frequent sojourns by the way, in order to gain a more intimate view of the setting of various events of Colonial and Revolutionary days as well as those of more recent times. It is, however, to the student of Revolutionary history that this work describing the region in and near the valley of the Delaware, from Trenton to the Brandywine, which furnished the scene of so much of the stirring history of those days, will be especially welcome. By means of it the reader can follow Washington and his associates in the various campaigns centering about Philadelphia, visit the old inns and taverns, churches or Friends' meeting-houses, and private homes typical of "ye olden tyme," and thus live again the life of our forefathers.

Mr. Faris writes from a full storehouse of material, and his narrative is delightfully told. Both the natural and historic beauties of the environs of Philadelphia are presented in more than a hundred illustrations, the work of experts in architectural and landscape photography.

University of Pennsylvania.

HERMAN V. AMES.

- THWAITES, R. G., and KENDALL, C. N. *A History of the United States for Grammar Schools*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. xxvi, 511. \$1.20.
- MCLAUGHLIN, A. C., and VAN TYNE, C. H. *A History of the United States for Schools*. New York: Appleton & Co., 1916. Pp. 481. \$1.00.
- BEARD, C. A., and BAGLEY, W. C. *The History of the American People*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 636. \$1.20.

It is perhaps a commonplace to remark that in educational matters progress is made from above downwards. As seen in the teaching of history this truth is illustrated by the collection of grammar school texts now under review. The use of these and similar recent books brings to the upper grades the newer points of view and of emphasis that have been familiar to college teachers for ten or twenty years. The fact that two of them still retain strong traces of the traditional treatment of American history in such books, leads us to estimate that a full generation must elapse before the acceptance of new ideas in the college class-room penetrates thoroughly to the desks of grammar school children. Of course, there are reasons sufficiently explaining this phenomenon which need not be detailed at this time.

In estimating the worth of history text-books published in this day, two qualities may almost be assumed as satisfactory. These are, mechanical make-up and historical accuracy. The competition of the business now compels such attention to these matters that teachers have nothing to complain of.

Another feature upon which texts must be judged is the selection and emphasis of topics. All three of these books show the effect of the demand for less political and military and more social and economic history. While the Beard and Bagley text devotes 27 pages to the Revolutionary War, the others give 40 pages each, and somewhat the same difference occurs in the treatment of the other wars. In this respect, and also in the matter of the expansion of our more recent history, the Beard and Bagley represents the most distinct break from the traditional grammar school text.

But it is especially in the treatment of social and economic topics that this book shows a very commendable advance upon earlier ideals. Here we find a chapter, instead of a few isolated paragraphs, upon the growth of the West and life on the frontier. Here is an excellent account of the industrial revolution and the changes that it wrought, corresponding to which there is little in the other texts. Here, too, is an adequate treatment of such topics as slavery, immigration, and labor problems. The growth of our school systems, the spread of equal suffrage, and the meaning of the newer "progressive" ideas in our political life are stated with comparative fullness in the Beard and Bagley, while they are entirely slighted or only briefly summarized in the other texts. Is there any doubt that this is the direction in which we should move rapidly in the near future? The adequate treatment of these topics brings to the child mind much concrete material connected directly with the everyday life about him and fitting him distinctly to judge the problems of his time.

This newer emphasis does not mean the abandonment of political topics. It means the simplification of them, however. It should include such a statement of the fundamental principles derived from English constitutional experience as that contained in the McLaughlin and Van Tyne text (pages 195-198).

Quite as essential as the matter of emphasis in the making of a good text is the question of adaptability to the grade in question. This includes the arrangement of the

subject-matter. Upon this point we favor for the grammar grades the topical treatment, as illustrated in the Beard and Bagley text, rather than the chronological. As an example may be cited Chapter 27, discussing combinations and conflicts of labor and capital after the Civil War. Here are assembled topics which are treated in five or six isolated paragraphs scattered through a hundred or more pages in each of the other books. Are we not now in a position to integrate in this way the important movements of events occurring between the Civil War and 1900?

Very important in the making of a text that is adapted for the students is the language employed. While all of these texts maintain a fitting dignity of language, neither making an effort to "descend" to grammar school level nor resorting to flippant phrase-making, they all err occasionally by the use of college class-room terms and phrases that will discourage pupils and make teachers despair. Beard and Bagley, for instance, calmly remark (page 519) that "The twentieth century opened with the extension of conflicts between employers and employees into the field of government and politics." This statement is not illuminated, for the eighth grade mind, by the remainder of the paragraph. McLaughlin and Van Tyne announce, as though in a lecture to college seniors upon the Townshend Acts, "The substitution of external for internal taxation in the bill which Parliament now passed was only a thin sugar coating over the bitter pill inside, for 'writs of assistance' were again legalized, and the revenue from the taxation was to be used to remove the governors and judges from popular control by paying their salaries." Writs of assistance were previously explained, but the rest of the sentence will be an enigma to the pupil. One is often led to wonder, in reading these books, how some of the topics would be stated for the benefit of high school seniors, or even for college students, if the language here used is assumed as intended for the grammar school grades. This question arises most often in reading the Beard and Bagley text.

In the way of pedagogical helps the McLaughlin and Van Tyne text attempts the least. Here are merely a few references (often to advanced books) at the end of each chapter, and a collection of questions on the text at the end of the book. Thwaites and Kendall give no questions on the text, an entirely excusable omission, but the chapters are followed by most excellent suggestive questions and composition subjects. The "Review" at the end of each period is of doubtful use, while the references here given would be much more useful if attached to individual topics. In the Beard and Bagley text questions following each chapter are interspersed with thought questions in a satisfactory way. Under "Problems for further study," references are given to definite topics.

Since the Thwaites and Kendall and the Beard and Bagley texts are dated 1918, they include chapters upon the European war as affecting our interests and the steps by which we became involved in the struggle. These chapters are both fair to the belligerents and thoroughly loyal in spirit, the McLaughlin and Van Tyne text ends with a chapter on the constitution and government of the United States which we may regard as superfluous, except as a "talking point" for agents. If the great majority of facts stated in this chapter were not already familiar to pupils, then their comprehension of the preceding chapters would be most inadequate.

In conclusion, we may say that the teacher who is anxious to break away from traditional lines of work and to handle fresh material, and who is ready to accept and teach new points of view, will select from among these three texts the Beard and Bagley book. She must be prepared, however, to exercise more than ordinary skill and resourcefulness in

handling the larger mass of facts (especially in the later period of our history) and in the work of adapting to grammar school capacity the book's heavy generalizations, sometimes stated in difficult language. The other books, also excellent texts, will be selected by the more conservative teachers and superintendents who are satisfied with a less radical departure from accustomed paths.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

CODE, REV. G. B., Editor. *War and the Citizen, Urgent Questions of the Day*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917. Pp. xv, 175. 2s. 6d.

DOLE, CHARLES F. *The New American Citizen. The Essentials of Civics and Economics*. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1918. Pp. ix, 376. \$1.00.

These two books are so closely related to each other in the interest of the American teacher of government that they may be mentioned together. One is a survey of the status of citizenship as brought out by the great war and its economic readjustments. The other is a serious effort to aid the teacher in preparing children for a better, higher, and nobler citizenship than the world has yet known. One surveys public opinion as to our needs; the other presents a method of meeting these needs.

Mr. Code presents twenty-one brief essays, the nature of which may be indicated by the following titles: "Mind and Munitions," W. J. Ashley; "Trade Unionism After the War," G. Shann; "Universal Service," two papers by Oliver Lodge and Eldred Hallas; "Education After the War," Mrs. George Cadbury; "Agriculture and National Welfare," Christopher Turnor. "The collection makes no pretence of being a complete and up-to-date record of the influence of the war upon citizenship; it might rather be described as a series of sidelights of opinion on current questions arising during the war's progress," says the editor in his preface.

The breadth of mind of the collector may be indicated with a quotation from a paper "Before and After the War," by W. Alfred Hayes, which is included. Page 109: "It is useless to defeat our rival in the field, if we have not the sense to recognize the qualities which have rendered him so formidable a foe, and, while shunning his vices, to emulate his virtues. For more than two generations Germany has been far ahead of us [England] in educational matters, and we not only still lag far behind, but solemnly resolve in our collective commercial wisdom not to attempt to recover the lost intellectual ground."

Neville Chamberlain concludes his brief introduction to the volume as follows: "It is for those who have the care of children in their hands and near their hearts to see that the lesson is not thrown away, and that in the New England that will arise when the war is ended, the people shall be ready to use wisely the liberties and privileges that have been won afresh for them."

In England, as here, there is still lacking a name for this task of the teacher. R. H. Best, in his paper, "Workshop and the Citizen," page 12 in this volume, says: "It appears hard for us in England to find a suitable term to describe that part of the curriculum which devotes itself directly to this end. 'Civics' is the word which has been adopted for the general conception in America. 'Citizenship training' is the more clumsy but less academic English attempt."

The second volume we are considering uses in its subtitle the two words, "civics" and "economics," thus conceding that civics means government in its wider sense. It seems to be unfortunate that this indefinite and confusing term civics continues in such vogue. It means either gov-

ernment, or government and economics, or government, economics and sociology. Its use has done much to confuse our minds and to delay the development of sound education. In a few quarters it is used even in the sense of training for citizenship almost as if the civics teacher should take as his field the whole scope of education. It is important for children to learn the elementary notions of self-government, and to grasp the elementary notions of social and economic organization. Is the task of teaching them made any less difficult by adopting a term which means nothing?

Mr. Dole's book is one of the most useful yet presented to the teacher of young pupils in government. His Part I, called "The Beginnings of Citizenship," deals with some general notions, and with such co-operation as is taught in the debating society and on the playground. Some might say that he has attempted too much philosophy in this part, but this would be a matter of opinion which is as yet hard to determine. His Part II, "The Citizen and the Commonwealth; or, The Rights and Duties of Citizens," deals with the legal side of government and its organization. Part III is called "Industrial Democracy; or, The Rights and Duties of Business and Labor," and considers such economic problems as wealth, money, trade, labor organizations, employers and their problems. It also considers the legal concept of property in a thoughtful way. Part IV, "Special Social Rights and Duties," contains five chapters dealing with such subjects as crime, the poor, temperance. Part V presents four brief but interesting chapters on international relations and the problems of closer international co-operation. At the end there is a brief list of aids to the teacher, and an index. The list of books seems to be unnecessarily brief, but the author merits recognition for the general organization and helpfulness of his work.

EDGAR DAWSON.

Hunter College of the City of New York.

HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL. *New American History*. New York: American Book Co., 1918. Pp. vii, 650. \$1.72.

In submitting another text-book to the teaching profession, Professor Hart challenges attention by including the word "new" in his title. There are reasons for this, aside from and in addition to the obvious need of some label to distinguish this—at the time of writing—last addition to the imposing array of the author's older publications.

First of all, in spite of some conventional material, handled in time-honored fashion, Professor Hart frequently gets away from traditional angles of approach. For example, he lays emphasis on the fact that, instead of being isolated local contests, the French wars of the eighteenth century were parts of the great Anglo-French struggle for world-wide colonial empire. Then, in discussing the Revolution, he is considerably more sane than writers of text-books generally have been. His treatment of both England and the loyalists shows at least an understanding of their side of the argument, although he still persists in calling the American revolutionists "patriots." In dealing with the various wars he has compressed military details into narrow limits, thereby securing space for valuable matter. Again, so far as the national period is concerned, he succeeds in avoiding that exasperating custom of looking at American history as a succession of presidential administrations.

In addition to this new point of view, in his chapters on regular political history Professor Hart has included material that never found a place in the old-style text. The book contains numerous and interesting discussions of the social and economic conditions of various periods, with

special reference to those factors which have had a bearing on the material growth of the nation.

The chapters before 1876 are on the whole well proportioned and clearly arranged; for those after that date unfortunately not so much can be said. They contain copious quantities of information, to be sure, although curiously enough not a word appears about Populism, but this part of the work seems to have been put together without perspective and without plan. It would be a rare student, indeed, who could find in such a bewildering tangle the main threads of American development after the end of reconstruction. Aside from this drawback, the book is a worthy addition to what might be called the Hart Library of American History.

RALPH V. HARLOW.

Simmons College.

CORWIN, EDWARD S. *The President's Control of Foreign Relations*. Princeton: University Press, 1917. Pp. vi, 216. \$1.50.

Professor Corwin's little book does a useful work very well. It is a timely volume, for these are days of profound importance in the sphere of diplomatic relations. The older period of self-centered aloofness has forever been broken by the impact of a world war. We can no longer view the affairs of the outside world as if from a star, interested as spectators of fact, but unaffected by result. Whether we like it or not, we have outlived the years of isolation and neutrality. America has been thrust by the currents of world events from her separatist attitude into the full stream of international obligations. Thought and tradition lag behind the march of events and there is much to be done through the spoken and written word to prevent in America an instinctive reversion to provincialism. If it is to be a people's peace, if popular control of international concerns is not to be a glittering phrase and an empty formula, it must needs be that the people know vastly more now than before about the outside world, not only in content, but also in the manner of control. Doctor Corwin's book is not an exhaustive presentation of the fundamental issues and incidents of the subject. But if any one wishes to find, within brief compass, a good treatment of the chief historical incidents involved in the control of foreign relations and of the most instructive discussions raised by these incidents from Washington to Wilson, this book will orient him in the task.

The book approximates a source-book. About seventy per cent. is given over to selections from public documents, congressional papers, opinions of attorney-generals, messages and papers of the presidents, judicial decisions, and like material. Over fifty pages are devoted to the reproduction of the debate between Hamilton and Madison in 1796, and its parallel in 1906 between Senators Spooner and Bacon on the vital issues involved in the relations between the President and Senate in the diplomatic field. Interspersed is the narrative of the author, together with his own mature reflections and deductions. The selections from the sources are well chosen. But the reviewer is inclined to wish that the author had presented less from the sources, and, with his own keen insight, brought out the fundamental points involved in the debates and opinions. In this highly controversial literature, there is much hair-splitting, much wandering from the main questions, so that it is difficult to distinguish between the essential and unimportant.

In this volume, one will find ably set forth the subjects of diplomatic intercourse, the making, enforcement, and termination of treaties, the presidential war-making power, in all their various aspects, fortified by historical incidents

and enlivened by the controversies between the legislature and executive branches over their place and power in the whole field.

The author shows that the force of events has tended to centre more and more the initiative in directing foreign policy in the President, but at the same time showing that he is far from being an autocrat in the field by reasons of constitutional limitations. He can expend money only for the purposes which Congress may define, is subject to the constitutional obligation to see that the laws be faithfully executed, and so the author feels that the President is little likely to be an autocrat, "save at extraordinary moments and when backed by the overwhelming approval of American public opinion."

W. T. ROOT.

University of Wisconsin.

Roland G. Usher, in his "Coming Peace Conference" (*North American Review* for December), says: "Freed now from Kaiserism in Germany, we are to meet the not less serious menace of imperialism at home. . . . It would be a calamity for the United States to part company in any sense or in any degree with her European associates in arms whether on issue of internationalism or of explicit territorial arrangements in Europe. . . . It will be necessary for the United States to accept in absolute good faith the decisions of Europe so far as they concern directly their own international arrangements or their immediate relations with each other. These are no more questions which we should expect them to allow us to decide than that we should in turn permit them to dictate to us our relations to Porto Rico or the revision of the Platt Amendment."

The efforts to control prices and the effects of high prices upon agriculturists during the Revolution are described in a paper entitled, "Economic Conditions in Massachusetts During the American Revolution," by Ralph Volney Harlow, which appears in Vol. XX of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

CURRENT PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

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American Review of Reviews. Scholarship department. History teachers' service, October, November, December, 1918. (A monthly syllabus of material in the *American Review of Reviews*. History teachers' service, by G. E. Boynton; History and economics teachers' service, by T. C. Trask; History and civics teachers' service, by A. C. Bryan.)

Gathany, J. Madison. Weekly outline study of current history. *The Outlook*.

Hattersley, Alan F. The teaching of history in South African schools. *History* (London), n. s., III (October, 1918), 151-158.

Knowlton, D. C. Weekly study of pictures and current events. *Leslie's Weekly Magazine*.

Progressive requirements in American history for junior and senior high schools. *The School Review*, XXVI (September, 1918), 473-489.

Wayland, John W. History teaching in the light of present war conditions. *The Virginia Journal of Education*, XII (December, 1918), 131-134.

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED
IN THE UNITED STATES FROM NOVEMBER
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AMERICAN HISTORY.

- Abbot, Willis J. *Soldiers of the sea; the story of the United States Marine Corps.* N. Y.: Dodd, Mead. 315 pp. \$1.50, net.
- American caricatures pertaining to the Civil War [1856-1872]. New edition. N. Y.: Brentano's. \$2.00, net.
- Armbruster, Eugene L. *Bruijkleen Colonie* (Borough of Brooklyn), 1638-1918. N. Y.: The author. 12 pp. \$1.00.
- Bishop, A. L., and Kellar, A. G. *Industry and trade; historical and descriptive account of their development in the United States.* Boston: Ginn. 426 pp. \$1.32.
- British-American discords and concords; a record of three centuries. N. Y.: Putnam. 85 pp. (3 pp. bibls.). 75 cents.
- Wilson, Clair B. *Outline of United States History.* Clearfield, Pa.: The author. 138 pp. 50 cents.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

- Anderson, G., and Subedar, Manilal Bhagwandas. *The expansion of British India (1818-1858).* N. Y.: Macmillan. 196 pp. \$1.75, net.
- Hammond, John Hays. *The truth about the Jameson raid.* Boston: M. Jones Co. 50 pp. 75 cents.
- Hughes, Katherine. *Ireland.* N. Y.: Donnelly Press. 79 pp. 25 cents.

EUROPEAN HISTORY.

- Beury, Charles E. *Russia after the Revolution.* Phila.: Jacobs. 138 pp. \$1.50.
- Florer, Warren W. *The revolution of 1848; Dr. Herman Kiefer, chairman of the Freiburg meeting.* Boston: Badger. 137 pp. \$1.50.
- Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H. *Wars and treaties, 1815-1914.* New edition. N. Y.: Macmillan. 100 pp. \$1.20, net.
- Thompson, Donald C. *From Czar to Kaiser; the betrayal of Russia.* N. Y.: Doubleday Page. 199 pp. \$3.00, net.

THE GREAT WAR.

NOTE.—Except in cases where the work seems to be of exceptional interest, personal narratives are not included in this list.

- Becker, Carl L., compiler. *America's war aims and peace program.* Wash., D. C.: Com. on Public Information. 52 pp.
- Bryce, James. *Essays and addresses in war time.* N. Y.: Macmillan Co. 208 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Chéradame, André. *The essentials of an enduring victory.* N. Y.: Scribner. 259 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Crime (The). By a German. Vol. 2. *Antecedents of the Crime.* [Re-traverses ground of author's "I Accuse" in the light of later events.] N. Y.: Doran. 502 pp. \$2.50, net.
- Dawson, Eric P. *Pushing water* [account of the British Auxiliary Patrol]. N. Y.: J. Lane. 123 pp. \$1.00.
- Frost, Wesley. *German submarine warfare.* N. Y.: Appleton. 243 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Gibbons, Floyd P. *"And they thought we wouldn't fight."* N. Y.: Doran. 410 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Huard, Frances Wilson. *With those who wait.* N. Y.: Doran. 255 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Hutchinson, Woods. *The doctor in war* [account of medical service on the western front]. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 481 pp. \$2.50, net.
- McKinley, A. E., and others. *A school history of the Great War.* N. Y.: Am. Book Co. 192 pp. 60 cents.
- Michelon, Claude, compiler. *Made in Germany; a compilation of German atrocities taken from official documents.* Indianapolis [French Orphans' Guard]. 48 pp. 25 cents.
- Nida, William L. *Sidelights on the war.* Oak Park, Ill.: Hale Book Co. 159 pp. 60 cents.

- Palmer, Frederick. *America in France.* N. Y.: Dodd, Mead. 479 pp. \$1.75, net.
- Stoddard, Francis R., Jr. *War-time France; the story of an American commission abroad.* N. Y.: Moffat Yard. 201 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Tappan, Eva M. *The little book of the war.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 138 pp. 60 cents.
- Tomlin, Robert K., Jr. *American engineers behind the battle line in France.* N. Y.: McGraw-Hill. 92 pp. \$2.00.
- Traves, F. G. *A captive on a German raider.* N. Y.: McBride. 151 pp. \$1.25, net.
- U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. *Economic reconstruction; analysis of main tendencies in the principal belligerent countries of Europe, with statistics.* Wash., D. C.: Gov. Pr. Off. 74 pp.
- Vosnjak, Bogumil. *A bulwark against Germany.* N. Y.: Revell. 280 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Waldo, Fullerton L. *America at the front.* N. Y.: Dutton. 170 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Whitaker, Herman. *Hunting the German shark, the American navy in the undersea war.* N. Y.: Century Co. 310 pp. \$1.50.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- America; a patriotic pioneer pageant play.* Chicago: Young America Pub. Co. \$5.00.
- Dennett, Tyler. *The democratic movement in Asia.* N. Y.: Association Press. 252 pp. \$1.50.
- Greenlaw, Edwin A., editor. *Builders of Democracy* [a patriotic reader]. Chicago: Scott Foresman. 333 pp. 60 cents, net.
- Hasbrouck, Louise S. *Mexico from Cortes to Carranza.* N. Y.: Appleton. 329 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Hopkins, Edward W. *The history of religions.* N. Y.: Macmillan. 624 pp. (bibls.). \$3.00, net.

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- Ingersoll, Jared. *Jared Ingersoll papers.* New Haven: New Haven Colony Hist. Soc. 201-472 pp. \$5.00, net.
- Luther, Martin. *Luther's Correspondence and other contemporary letters.* Vol. 2. Edited by Preserved Smith and C. M. Jacobs. Phila.: Lutheran Pub. Soc. 567 pp. \$3.50, net.
- Hagedorn, Hermann. *The boys' life of Theodore Roosevelt.* N. Y.: Harper. 374 pp. \$1.25, net.
- Hill, David Jayne. *Impressions of the Kaiser* [William II]. N. Y.: Harper. 367 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Low, A. Maurice. *Woodrow Wilson, an interpretation.* Boston: Little Brown. 291 pp. \$2.00, net.
- Wilson, Woodrow. *Addresses and messages.* N. Y.: Boni and Liveright. 315 pp. 70 cents, net.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

- Baker, James H. *After the war—what?* Boston: Stratford Co. 177 pp. \$1.00.
- Balch, Thomas Willing. *A world court in the light of the United States Supreme Court.* Phila.: Allen Lane & Scott. 115 pp. \$2.00.
- Follett, Mary P. *The new state; group organization the solution of popular government.* N. Y.: Longmans. 373 pp. \$3.00, net.
- Jordan, David Starr. *Democracy and world relations.* Yonkers: World Book Co. 158 pp. \$1.20.
- Lowell, A. Lawrence. *Greater European Governments.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. 330 pp. \$1.50, net.
- Marburg, Theodore. *League of Nations; its principles examined.* Vol. 2. N. Y.: Macmillan. 137 pp. 60 cents, net.
- Seymour, Charles, and Frary, D. P. *How the world votes; the story of democratic development in elections.* 2 vols. Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Co. 406, 355 pp. \$6.50, net.
- Tead, Ordway. *The people's part in peace.* N. Y.: Holt. 156 pp. \$1.10, net.
- Woodburn, J. A., and Moran, T. F. *The citizen and the republic.* N. Y.: Longmans. 398 pp. (bibls.). \$1.50, special net.

Some British Reconstruction Views

PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE.

INTRODUCTION.

The war may be looked upon as a stupendous upheaval in the social world like those cataclysms of nature, which, breaking the crust of the earth perhaps along some line of seacoast, upraised the mountains and changed the topography of a continent. In the study of the war there are three distinct phases: (1) the causes, or those historical backgrounds in which the causes lie concealed; (2) the war proper, its beginning, progress, changing phases, and conclusion; (3) the general peace, and the means adopted by the several belligerents to readjust their life to the peace basis. This last phase is called *reconstruction*.

At the moment of writing, the world's interest is centered on Paris where the peace conference is gathering, and all newspapers devote much space to a discussion of the preliminary statements of policy, or supposed policy, of the nations that are concerned in it. But, within the several nations, a nearer and probably more acute interest is felt in the plans of reconstruction. This is especially true in the case of those peoples that have suffered most—Belgium, France, Italy, and Great Britain.

America entered the war much later than the other nations. Because of the military exigency we were compelled to devote ourselves absorbingly to the problem of preparing to put armies in the field overseas and support them there. The armistice came when we were in the full tide of successful preparation for the employment of overwhelming military and economic forces against Germany. These preparations were so gigantic, the concentration on them, and on the great objective, "winning the war," was so intense that the problem of readjustment after the war was hardly considered at all.

Suddenly, when the fighting ceased and it was found that millions of soldiers and millions of other war workers would soon be returning to peaceful pursuits, there was the same emergency need of preparedness for peace that there was earlier for war preparations. No general plans had been made, however, and therefore the first step that suggested itself was to take advantage of the accumulated experience, and of the scientific planning, which had been done by the European belligerents in the hope of adapting some of their conclusions, or at least getting suggestions from them towards the development of an American policy.

Among foreign nations, Great Britain has perhaps made the most elaborate reconstruction plans. British writers have been engaged in the public discussion of reconstruction for nearly three years, and the government has a ministry of reconstruction which has been working steadily, through more than sixty committees, for nearly as long a time.

For purposes of study, the British material is espe-

cially available. The books, pamphlets, and reports are almost uniformly well written; the round of problems treated includes many of those which are beginning to trouble us—the land problem, the labor problem, the educational problem, the problem of commerce, the problem of credit, etc.—and the spirit of the discussion is of course essentially the same as our own. Moreover, the reconstruction plans of Great Britain are of special interest to us as showing how the other great Anglo-Saxon people is trying to close the era of war and with what altered social, economic, and political organs she is expecting to set out on the new career of peace now about to open.

It is as the final phase of the history of the war, so far as Great Britain is concerned, that we present the following material on reconstruction. It must be understood that it gives a record of plans and suggestions merely, not a record of achievement. But the student who becomes familiar with this material will be better prepared to follow British peace legislation and the tendencies of British life in the immediate future.

In the following selections, the aim has been, by quoting the most significant passages, and by summarizing less important portions, to give the reader a fair notion of the contents of the pamphlet, book, or article treated.

I.

H. G. WELLS' THE ELEMENTS OF RECONSTRUCTION.¹

This is a pioneer document in the public discussion of reconstruction as a national and imperial problem. The author, who is one of the best known publicists of Great Britain, has here blocked out a program which has attracted the attention of the best minds in England. Lord Milner wrote the introduction for the pamphlet and showed much sympathy with and interest in the views of the author on science in education and industry, on scientific agriculture and on education in general while he criticised the essays on politics and government. The essays are six in number.

The author introduces his anonymous discussion with the pleasant fiction that the ideas embraced in the letters were the result of conversations between two friends, both of whom contributed as writers. He speaks in his introductory paragraph of compressing their ideas into "some three or four letters, believing that what they will have to say will outline a complete and consistent liberal and progressive policy in British affairs."

¹ Nisbet & Co., London, 1916-1917. (A series of articles contributed in July and August, 1916, to the *Times*. First published anonymously in pamphlet form in November, 1916. In the third impression the articles are ascribed to H. G. Wells.)

He, in fact, presented his material in six chapters, beginning, characteristically, with a keenly analytical discussion of the topic, "Science in Education and Industry," which attracted the interest of Lord Milner, as shown in his introduction. A quotation from this chapter is justified by its importance. The writer says, "It is conceivable that the educational problem is not a problem in itself at all, and that when we begin to regard it as a part in a much larger problem, as part of the general problem of national reconstruction, we shall find that, instead of our difficulties being increased by this enlargement of purview, they will be found to vanish away. This, at any rate, is the thesis now presented. It is submitted that the problem of national education and the problem of economic reconstruction are inseparable and cannot be dealt with apart. They must be dealt with as one plan, the national plan. . . ."

"Our British world is at present a confusion of fragmentary good intentions and partial proposals. We discuss the projection of tariffs and we discuss the organization of labor without considering the profound difference it makes whether we are dealing with the projection and manning of a chaotic world of individualized businesses run for unchecked private profit or a system of amalgamated businesses in which the public interest is the controlling shareholder."

"Scientific Agriculture and the Nation's Food," which is Chapter II of the series, is very properly described by Lord Milner as "a brilliant chapter." It begins with the startling announcement that socialism, which "has sat triumphantly on the grave of its antagonist"—*laissez faire*—is in turn dead; that it has not indeed failed, but its sounder elements have passed into the general consciousness while its rejected factors shrivel and perish as things completely judged, and its name becomes a shelter for "rebels and faddists." He lays down these propositions, namely: (a) That the earlier socialist doctrine of expropriation of privately owned land and other wealth is an absurdity. (b) That "you cannot suddenly create whole new classes of men." (c) "We may change the world, indeed, as much as we like, providing we keep on going all the time, but we cannot do the smallest change that involves a week's stoppage." "We cannot cut to-morrow off from yesterday." (d) The reasonable course of development is a development towards nationalization, but not by the socialist method of expropriation; rather by a process of "amalgamation, by co-ordination and co-operation by bringing the state into partnership, and an increasing partnership, in the big businesses that result from these amalgamations, by developing the crude beginnings of the 'controlled establishment,' by the *quid pro quo* of profit-sharing and control in the national interest in exchange for the national credit and a helpful tariff."

"The state can step in here with the minimum of social disturbance. It need expropriate nobody, it need confiscate nothing, it leaves the landlord his acres, the farmer, his farm, the wholesaler his ware-

house, and the retailer his shop, but on the one hand it can insist on certain standards of quality, wholesomeness and cheerfulness, and on the other on certain standards of cultivation. The great advantage of the quasi-public business is that the profit the state partner seeks is not a dividend, but the public welfare. It can afford to buy even at a loss a crop which is socially beneficial, it can afford to sell even at a loss a product which is wholesome or socially stimulating. Its true profit is a highly cultivated country and a well-fed, energetic population. Big business, and particularly state business, means wide views and distant ends, and they are attainable in no other way."

Mr. Wells proposes, then, that the state, which during the war has been the buyer of crops, continue to exercise that function as a means of amalgamating and unifying the business of agriculture as buyer. The state, through its purchasing agencies, would exercise an influence upon seed and breed selection, upon the science of cultivation, upon the attainment of necessary co-operation among cultivators, even upon the problem of agricultural labor. Instead of a tariff, the state could grant a price bonus if needed to promote desirable lines of production. The plan would work out as "syndication without confiscation."

Speaking in Chapter III of the problem of labor, and particularly of the shortsightedness of both capitalists and laborers in the selfish age, and their mutual suspicions and recriminations, he says: "They have to go to school together if the Empire is to be saved. . . . It is hopeless for anyone to discuss the future of labor in Great Britain who does not continually bear in mind this lurking suspicion. It is a vital part of this problem that whatever is not done openly now, whatever is not done clearly and fully explained now so that most workmen and most employers understand it, will be misinterpreted and blocked by popular distrust. Economic reconstruction must be a general act. It is an idle dream, and all too prevalent a dream, to suppose that any great economic reorganization can be brought about by quiet meetings of bankers and big business men and unobtrusive bargains with government departments. The workers are going to be restive at any changes they cannot understand and watch. Whatever reorganization is attempted must be done in the daylight; it must be set out quite plainly in the popular press, it must be forced upon the attention of the worker; he must be made a party to every step in the national process."

Again he insists on the importance of *scale*; "the relation of the management of the business of manufacture to the worker varies in its nature as the business varies in its scale. The difference in scale makes a difference in kind." Of old, labor was considered in terms of "hands." Contrast this with a big quasi-national organization of business. Such a business can bargain with men for a lifetime of service, furnishing such remuneration and such training,

and such conditions of employment as will make the most out of the laborer's lives, not merely out of their day's work.

The public mind is partly prepared for a syndication of businesses into nation-wide trusts by the processes of agitation among laborers themselves, especially the so-called Guild-Socialists; partly by the revealing experiences of the war which actually called into being such industrial organizations, and which taught men in the national armies the might and necessity of national control.

The reader of Milner's introduction will recall the criticisms on the chapter dealing with "Problems of Political Adaptation," which is Chapter IV. That criticism included a statement of two of the points laid down as fundamentals of a reconstruction plan by the author, namely (a) proportional representation, and (b) the substitution of "occupational" for local constituencies. On this latter point, the author says: "We assert that for a large and increasing number of citizens in a modern state, locality has only a residential interest, and often even that residential interest is transitory, and that the major aspect of the constituencies of such citizens is towards some trade or industry in a relation of national dimensions."

"An Imperial Constitution," treated in Chapter V, is conceived by the author as a federative constitution. But he leads up to this by recalling the widespread dream of a League of Peace which must be built upon treaties, and this requires that the Empire speak as a unit through an imperial parliament or Council of Empire representative at least of "The Britains." A co-ordinate step would be to relegate the private and local affairs of each section like Scotland, Ireland, Wales, to a local parliament of that particular region. He insists on occupational constituencies.

The final chapter is on "Higher Education in the Empire." "Our economic and political organization," says the author, "will be futile if it does not carry with it an organization of our at present aimless and confused national intelligence. Quite apart from that technical education which is necessary for the economic efficiency of the citizen, there has to be an education of the national mind in general ideas. That is the mental side of these material developments. To think of changes in factory and legislature without thinking of changes in school and press is like thinking of going for a walk with one's left leg only, leaving the right at home."

He next takes up and discusses "The Two Aspects of Education," the technical and the liberal, placing the emphasis upon the latter which he defines as the education fit to equip the public man, that is, the makers and leaders of public opinion. "A thorough study of philosophy and of history," conceiving both in a liberal and inclusive way, is his prescription for attaining the desired liberal culture. "That philosophy and history in some form, together with the social sciences that necessarily spring out of historical or biological teaching, constitute and alone can consti-

tute the liberal education which must be the substance of a nation's culture seems to us scarcely to need arguing."

Technical and scientific education, as contrasted with liberal, is in one sense an aspect of the economic organization of society. It should be sharply distinguished from the liberal.

But, in a democratic community, liberal education should be democratic as well as technical education. "Without a general liberal education we can have no massive national intelligence, no sense of a common purpose or adventure, no general willingness. Lacking this the majority of homes in the community will be materialistic in the narrowest sense, unstimulating and unproductive in the next generation of that sporadic ability upon which so much national progress has always depended and will always depend."

His final plea is for a new spirit and purpose in legal training. "We cannot do without lawyers," he says, "but we cannot do with lawyers whose training and outlook antagonize them to large progressive and constructive adventures. This country can no more do with old-fashioned lawyers than with old-fashioned business methods and old-fashioned guns."

"Happy go lucky and wait and see are at an end in mental as in material things."

The quotations and summaries show that the author discusses no phase of his subject exhaustively. But he does what at the moment was far more important—establishes the idea of reconstruction as a group of fundamental social and economic reforms the need of which existed before the war, but which now begin to appear inevitable and at the same time practicable.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, after the publication of Mr. Wells' letters, no one in Great Britain could possibly treat the reconstruction question in the timorous manner which is so characteristic of writers on problems that involve practical politics. Since he boldly exhibited the defects of both general and special education, of the land system and the conditions of agriculture, of representation and of imperial organization, of the relations of capital and labor, no one could thereafter wholly ignore any of those problems, and there were others, like the manifold problems of conservation which fitted so naturally into the framework of Wells' scheme that most of the later writers would be sure to bring them in. Thus we have in this work the plan and in part the stimulus for what was to become an extensive and a valuable literature.

American readers will probably be much startled at Mr. Wells' convictions respecting the advantages of large-scale industry. It would seem as if he were deliberately advocating the creation of industrial trusts, the thing which in America has come by a process of industrial evolution, and which we have tried so valiantly but so fruitlessly to get rid of. Mr. Wells would not get rid of the trusts if he could. But he would call the government "into the partnership," which means, in practice, complete governmental oversight and regulation.

II.

J. A. HOBSON'S "INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS AFTER THE WAR."

The lecture summarized below represents what the reviewer considers the most available of the series of articles published under the title, "The Hope for Society. Essays on Social Reconstruction After the War." (London, 1917. Lucy Gardner, editor.) These essays were originally presented in the form of lectures by the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. Clutton Brock, Sir Hugh Bell, Dr. A. J. Carlyle, Mr. J. St. G. Heath, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Christopher Turnor, Mr. C. Roden Buxton, Mr. Philip Kerr, and Mr. Ernest Barker. The topics include, among others, Industrial and Financial Conditions, Capital and Labor, The Land Question, Agricultural Reconstruction, Women in Industry, The Commonwealth, and Social Relations of Men After the War.

By selecting Mr. Hobson's essay we must not be understood to depreciate the others, some of which are of marked excellence and all of which are suggestive. But it happens that Mr. Hobson's essay on Industrial and Financial Conditions After the War is especially helpful in blazing a way through several large and complicated reconstruction problems that are quite closely related to certain of our own problems. Mr. Hobson has a gift of lucid exposition, an appeal to the reader's imagination, which renders his essay a classic in its special field.

"The most imposing revelation from the experience of British industry during the war has been its quantitative and qualitative adaptability to sudden new demands."

There are 4,000,000 men in the armies; about 2,000,000 others in munitions work. Still British industry has maintained the "material requisites of life upon a level not appreciably lower than before the war." This has been possible because: (1) About one-half the army was taken from the leisure class or the non-producing classes; (2) a half million remained at home who normally would have emigrated; (3) the usual large unemployed margin has been absorbed; (4) women, children, and retired workers have come in to substitute for labor taken away; (5) labor has been "speeded up" by means of a fuller week, Sunday and overtime work, and especially by the use of *more and more* effective machinery.

The effect of the revelation of the amount of "Slack" on reconstruction programs after the war:

It suggests the urgent need of *improved and enlarged* production, to furnish an increased national real income. The nation must produce a larger actual income after the war in order merely to maintain the pre-war level of comfort, because the war will create great unusual calls for wealth to repair plant, to furnish new capital for fresh commercial and industrial ventures, to pay enlarged tax bills, etc. [NOTE.—Even this takes no account of the need of supplying a decent minimum living to all.]

How shall the increased output be secured? By

"fuller employment, better and quicker work, larger and freer employment of women, better organization of labor in the factory and workshop, more energy and enterprise on the part of managers and employers, better provision of scientific and technical instruction, greater willingness to apply science to industry on the part of business men, and last, not least, better organization of credit and general finance." Some of the problems involved are labor problems, others financial and industrial, others political.

Specific suggestions:

(1) "To realize the enlarged productivity, more pacific co-operation between capital and labor, employer and employed, is a first essential." Hobson recommends that the laborers be given such participation in the management of businesses as will furnish them information concerning the conditions of success; also a definite interest in the result. That is, shop committees should include representatives of labor, and some equitable basis of profit-sharing might be worked out also.²

(2) Protection of the public interest. Labor and capital are two parties to production, the consuming public is the third party. On account of the close organization of production, amounting to monopoly in many cases, the state must intervene to defend the public against possible oppression. The state will probably intervene (1) to nationalize the railways, though not at once; (2) to control munitions work; (3) to regulate the business of mining, shipping, possibly chemicals; (4) to develop and maintain "key industries."

(3) The state and labor. The state will probably extend the use of Trade Boards for determining minimum wage, and for unemployed insurance. Some industries will collapse at the close of the war. Labor in these must be insured against unemployment. Also, the state will be called upon to undertake huge "relief" works to absorb the temporary surplus of labor.

(4) The state's relation to credit. For supplying credit-services to help small traders and manufacturers and farmers, the present banks are not satisfactory. Neither are they adequate for the supply of vast new credits to care for large new overseas trading ventures. The state must step in to create what is needed in these lines.

(5) The state's need of new taxes. "The state will have to tap new sources of income and to work out new policies for increasing the national productivity in order to take its share of the increased wealth" which it will need to pay interest and reduce the principal of the national debt.

(6) Stimulation of agricultural and rural life improvement. But for the fact that funds will not be available in adequate amount, it might be expected

² This idea is accepted by trade journals in England. See below. *The Statist*, London, July 7, 1917. Article, "Labour and Government."

that the state under pressures already strongly felt before the war would, at its close (a) promote land settlement on a large scale, (b) experiment largely in afforestation, reclamation, and light transport, (c) aid toward the direct improvement of rural life through education, recreational agencies, etc.

(7) Nationalism vs. internationalism. If the world after the war breaks again into groups of antagonistic powers, then we are to expect a new age of industrial nationalism which will prove very expensive and oppressive. "The only escape from the costs and perils of economic nationalism is by a fuller measure of economic internationalism, secured by improved political arrangements among the powers." Agreements are suggested as to partition of new trading areas among the nations. A more definitively responsible control of trade of nationals abroad will be one feature of an accelerated state activity.

III.

WILLIAM ROBERT SCOTT'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF PEACE AFTER WAR.³

The value of Professor Scott's lectures, delivered in 1917 at University College, London, lies partly in the studied conservatism of his utterances, partly in his strikingly individual method of exploring the reconstruction problem as a whole, and, of course, most largely in his carefully reasoned conclusions. Mr. Scott may be taken as in some sort a foil for the brilliant and radical Mr. Wells. He gives us one type—and a very responsible type—of British thinking on reconstruction.

Mr. Scott's writing is not always clear, like Hobson's; it is often involved, and sometimes unpleasantly repetitious. But he is always thoughtful and truth-seeking. He is the learned and philosophical British economist.

In his foreword the author says: "Warmly as the coming of a satisfying peace will be welcomed, it must be admitted that it is difficult to picture the social and industrial conditions which must then be dealt with. 'War,' as Burke says, 'never leaves where it found a nation.' Very many phenomena will be greatly changed and the framing of detailed forecasts is likely to result in disappointment. But it seems possible that something may be accomplished in applying general principles based upon the teachings of economics or on the experience of somewhat similar conditions in the past, or, again, upon known dispositions of human nature. Conclusions of this character will not, and cannot, predict details, but they may present an outline of the general appearance which economic life may assume, and it will be at least of some value to have an indication of the course which progress may be expected to take, even though we cannot tell

all the particular diversions that may be encountered."

He sets himself several questions to which, in the body of the treatise, he essays answers. These questions are: 1. Will vested interests in state-control of industry survive the war? 2. Will there be a new arrangement of trade within Greater Britain and with Allied nations? 3. What is to be the future arrangement of industry? In other words, may it not be that what has been considered a process is in reality a problem—namely, how to unite in any act of production the various factors (both human and inanimate) with the least resistance? Will there be state intervention in this, and will it help or hinder? Should it take place, would it impair initiative?

The following lecture topics are included in the volume: 1. The Economic Man and a World at War; 2. "For the Duration of the War"; 3. Communications of a Maritime State; 4. The Surprises of Peace; 5. Saving and the Standard of Life; 6. Organization Re-oriented.

In the lecture on "Economic Man and a World at War," Mr. Scott discusses the history of the idea of the "economic man," and he concludes that the earlier conception of the economic man as a selfish being has been modified by the thought of later economics to include also the idea of his social relationships. Thus it transpires that the economic man as such is certainly not a pacifist, but, finding under certain conditions that all he has or hopes to have is imperilled he will risk all and join with all his fellows to fight for its preservation or for the development of a new set of economic and social conditions. "And so in its ultimate issue an unavoidable war becomes the supreme speculation in which all that one has and life itself are staked. Nor is this all. Present events give an unlooked-for definiteness to a speech of remarkable insight made by Dr. Marshall in 1907. In it he discussed economic chivalry, connecting it with that chivalry of armies which is described by its historian as 'having effected more than letters could accomplish in the ancient world; for it gave rise to the personal merit which in the knight, and in his successor, the gentleman of the present day, checks the pride of birth and the presumption of wealth.' . . . So Dr. Marshall envisages a chivalry in business which fosters public spirit and a delight in doing noble and difficult things because they are noble and difficult. . . ."

"The essential lesson of industrial development is that its chief concern is in peace. But to secure a peace, which will be satisfactory, great sacrifices are demanded.

"During hostilities freedom is conceived as political, but the issue of the war will determine the governing principle of economic activity for a long time to come. The logical consequence of victory in war will be the maintaining of our industrial ideal of liberty, with its voluntary organization and its development of individual initiative.

"The maintaining of that ideal must not be un-

³ The W. Stanley Jevons Lectures at University College, London, in 1917. By William Robert Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., LL.D., Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow and Fellow of the British Academy. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1917.

derstood to mean a return to the same conditions of industry which existed before the war. Freedom takes many forms in its details, and a nation obtains that type of liberty, political and industrial, which it has deserved. In our commercial and industrial organization, as it existed during the first decade of the present century, there were many things which required amendment. The nation will emerge from this war poorer in material wealth but enriched in character. This will prove the necessary foundation for industrial and social advance. Our commercial machine had grown up gradually, and there were many parts in it which caused friction in its working. With clearer vision and a wider outlook, it will be possible to reform much and to improve much. When the smoke of battle clears away, when submarines no longer disturb the depths of the sea and aircraft cease to vex the calm stillness of the upper air with the rattle of their guns, men will return to the arts of peace which they were forced to abandon for those of war. They will return to us having learnt much, and perchance having forgotten something. The task before them will be the reaping of the full fruit of their perils and their toils in recreating industry and commerce in a manner which will be worthy of them and of their race. We shall have bought peace and security at a very great price, but that price should bring a bonus eventually in a better and more efficient industry. As yet it is possible to see only its general character, but not its details; just as one views a city in the far distance. It will, I think, be less sordid than the industry of the past; free, too, but with a well-ordered freedom. Efficiency, both of men and machines, can be increased, while, if this is accomplished, the conditions of workers will be better. Production, also, will be larger, for after a long period of somnolence, the nation will be more awakened and alert. What is more important, the quality and conditions of production will be improved, and it is to be hoped that the old pride of the craftsman in his work will return in an intensified form and will manifest itself on a much greater scale, for it will be reinforced by the whole strength of an improved and extended organization of industry."

Mr. Scott reinforces this forecast with quotations from writers of the Napoleonic period whose forecasts were largely justified by the developments of the nineteenth century.

His second lecture on the subject, "For the Duration of the War," opens with a reference to a curious dialogue betwixt Solomon and Marcolphus of date 1492. The purpose of this lecture is to discredit the old medieval static conception of the world, and to prepare the reader for the exact reverse—the dynamic conception. The thesis is that the dynamic conditions of a war period create infinite difficulties for those whose duty it is to meet the ever-changing and complex state of facts. These conditions could not be met by the government alone, but only by an unexampled voluntary effort on the part of a nation penetrated with the ideal of sacrifice. The government, indeed, which represents the collective mind of the

nation, found itself compelled to use coercion in many particular lines as affecting industry, commerce, and production. "This governmental control tends in itself to establish a species of vested interests, which will press for their continuance. . . . What is required at the present time is to refrain from taking action, as far as is possible, which would, if taken, determine the future. Often there are several ways of effecting a given aim, and it is desirable that, when there is such a choice, the future freedom of initiative should not be curtailed; while, on the other side, in so far as state action has shown itself beneficial, the way should be left open to use it in limited fields when peace has been secured."

The author reveals a genuine anxiety to see restored after the war the full industrial freedom which existed at its outbreak except in so far and in such cases as experience even before the war demonstrated the feasibility and safety of state interference.

Communications of a Maritime State.—In a reference to maritime losses sustained by Great Britain in the Napoleonic wars, the author states the probability that those losses were greater than the losses of the present war, although before the general peace Britain had recouped herself to a large extent. New construction gradually made good losses of all kinds, so that despite the heavy damage inflicted during the earlier years, by 1815 British maritime power had returned to its normal state. "The total amount of new building amounted to more than one-half of all the tonnage of 1803, and it is not too much to say that it was the strenuous and unremitting activities of our shipyards which saved the situation. Without such extreme application Great Britain would have emerged from the war with its shipping seriously, even dangerously, depleted. . . .

"Communication by sea is the life nerve of the existence of the British race in its present geographical distribution. It is only in this way that various members of the great family can specialize in the kind of production for which their country fits them by exchanging these with the others and with the rest of the world. . . .

"What railways and canals are to inland states, secure ocean routes are to Greater Britain and its possessions. They are the essential arteries by which its life-blood circulates. It follows that shipping may add to the wealth of a land power, but is not essential to it; whereas to the maritime state it constitutes the necessary link that united the parts together; as it has been finely said, 'Ships are the swift shuttles of an empire's loom that weave us, main to main.' . . .

"Adequate shipping requires sufficient naval force for its defense. Even in time of peace, the seas must be policed, in order to prevent wrong and injury being done. Piracy and slave trade show sporadic attempts to recommence, if control is withdrawn. That the seas have become safe for international commerce is a great, but almost unrecognized, work of the navies of the maritime powers and in a high degree of

that of Great Britain. Thus there has grown up what may be called for the sake of brevity the modern custom of the sea; and, in my view, it has been one of the greatest errors of Germany that this has been violated by the inhumanity of her submarine operations and the policy of indiscriminate mine laying. . . .

"The circumstances of the British peoples, as a maritime state, have involved for the sake of their trade and preponderance in shipping an especially adequate sea power to protect that shipping. It is for the world to judge whether the law of the sea, by which Great Britain bound herself and which she enforces, is more conducive to civilization and progress than that which Germany purposes to substitute for it."

To complete his discussion of the communications of a maritime state, Mr. Scott adds a section on aircraft, the use of which has resulted in adding a new dimension to warfare, and in particular has given a maritime power advantages as regards communications over one whose strength is on land. But he adds the reflection, "should aircraft be adapted to commercial purposes, the balance of advantage would be in part reversed. Assuming that passengers are carried, and that foreign powers would give facilities for landing for the supply of petrol, the advantage of ports would be to some extent neutralized. Access to the sea would no longer be as important as it is at present."

He foresees that the establishment of an imperial aerial mail might have significant results in the reorganizing of the imperial government, because in the matter of political intercommunication time is a most important consideration.

This, then, is his conclusion with reference to the sea power of Great Britain: "If, when the full tale is told, it will appear that British sea power made for the progress of civilization, then as a nation we may claim to have offered something, not wholly unworthy, towards the progress of humanity."

This whole discussion considered as representative of British opinion will be seen to have an important bearing upon the conception of "freedom of the seas" that is held in Great Britain, and generally in the United States, as contradistinguished to the conception professed in Germany. At the peace conference it will be important for all parties to understand the British point of view.

THE SURPRISES OF PEACE.

"Bacon in one of his essays speaks of innovations as 'the births of time,' and it cannot be questioned that the peace which will follow the present upheaval of the nations will constitute a new epoch in history. The time of war and trial has been fruitful in surprises, many of which were disagreeable. As far as can be judged from the apparent changes of plan by the military authorities of the chief countries involved in hostilities, war produced many situations and problems which had not been anticipated by those who made it their life-long study.

"Reliance upon former principles is a resource of one type of mind—that which is commonly called conservative, and which in reality overestimates the importance of continuity. There is the opposed attitude, which seeks and is stimulated by variety. The latter type is liable to overestimate the magnitude of the change which will have been effected by the war and its consequences. To it all things will seem to be new! and it will be eager to try new methods. Here, again, there will be waste of effort, since, implicitly, continuity is denied; and former experience is regarded as so much lumber." But experience is valuable, if rightly used—the problem will be to discover how far it is applicable to the new circumstances. In fine, from this point of view, there will be a double problem—on the one side to trace continuity with the past; and, on the other, to recognize and to give due weight to the changes which will be inevitable.

Mr. Scott foresees a period of transition between the signing of a peace treaty and the recreation of a normal industrial life. To attempt to resume the pre-war activities at once, terminating those developed during the war, would be impracticable and dangerous. Yet it is necessary that statesmanship forecast and provide for the conditions that are to come before those conditions are fully upon us. "We should have ears to hear the distant rustling of the wings of time. Most people only catch sight of it as it is flying away. When it is overhead it darkens their view."

Serious dangers are seen to exist in the disorganization of commerce after peace has been restored. The effect of the war on credit cannot be properly estimated as yet. With the coming of peace a wave of optimism in business might conceivably overstrain credit with disastrous results.

"Another possible cause of a dislocation of industry when the war is over would be the occurrence of widespread and protracted labor disputes. Since the labor position during the war has been far from clear, it is all the more difficult to speak of that which is likely to follow it. . . .

"The question of confining causes of dispute and eventually perhaps removing them altogether, is one of the most serious problems with which the industry of the future is faced. Hitherto, perhaps, too much dependence has been placed on the mere mechanism of prevention and too little upon the attitude of the parties to each other. To borrow a metaphor from medicine, preventive rather than curative measures are required. If the chief causes of friction could be first isolated and later rendered innocuous much good would have been accomplished. If the new spirit of harmony and seriousness is rightly directed immediately upon the close of hostilities, the way would at least be prepared for further progress. After the orgy of strife which has devastated some of the fairest lands of Europe, there will follow a time of calm, which should be taken advantage of to the fullest extent in order to establish better relations at

home in our industry, as well as internationally. The war has given us what social reformers have longed for vainly during the last half century, namely, the opportunity of making a fresh start as far as that is possible. If we fail to take advantage of it, there will be a tragic waste of a chance which occurs only once in several generations.

"The hope that the coming peace will bring harmony at home, as well as abroad, will be an inspiration in the reconstructing of industry after the war. Though difficult, it should not prove impossible; rather, the very difficulty of the task should be only a spur to our best endeavors. And so one sees the possibility of a more contented and harmonious industry, which may be in itself a portion of the compensation for some of the sacrifices of the nation."

SAVING AND THE STANDARD OF LIFE.

By a process of reasoning in which he employs economics, history, and sociology, the author arrives at the conclusion that "a proportion of specific war saving will continue for some years after peace. If this conclusion be well founded," he continues, "it affords very considerable help towards the solution of a difficult problem which is otherwise perplexing. It appears that the need for capital, when peace has been made, will be exceedingly great." He calls attention to the inevitable destruction wrought by the war, the decay of plant during the stress of war when no renewals could be made, the new needs which will immediately arise on the conclusion of peace, the revelation of special needs in the newer countries such as railways, harbor facilities, and machinery, which will make those new countries keen bidders for capital at the coming of peace in rivalry with the "home demand for the prosecution of delayed repairs, and both of these again with what will be an even more urgent need, namely, the restoration of the material destruction of war in the restoring of ruined buildings, the replacing of injured plant and the construction of new shipping to make good the loss of that which has been sunk. It is clear that the proportion of the national dividend saved before the war in Great Britain would be far from sufficient to meet the claims upon it, more particularly when it is remembered that, unless the desire for accumulation is increased, a higher scale of taxation after the war (which will be necessary to pay interest upon the immense war debt) would tend to diminish the surplus from which savings would be made. Here, then, we are face to face with one of the factors which will aid in determining the rate at which the material losses of the war will be repaired. Any delay tends to be cumulative in its prejudicial effects; since an improvement, postponed through scarcity of capital, bars the way to other subsequent developments which depend upon it. In fact, in this respect, the war has had the effect of intensifying conditions which had already begun to show themselves. For the decade prior to the war capital was becoming less abundant. For this there were two main reasons. After a long period, during which

there had been no expensive wars, there came within a short space the Chino-Japanese, the Italo-Abyssinian, the Graeco-Turkish, the Russo-Japanese, the South African and both the Balkan wars. Within this period also rapid progress was being made in the construction of large works and factories in a number of countries which were far from being in a position to supply their own needs for capital. Hence it is not difficult to imagine the reasons which have led many observers to predict a famine of capital when the great new demands for it are superimposed upon those which existed in 1914. But reflection should convince us that famine is too strong a word to employ to describe the situation which may be expected to arise. To some extent the war generated compensations for its own destruction. Some of the expenditure has gone to provide new factories and plant to increase the output of munitions and other supplies. In so far as these instruments of production can be adapted to the making of commodities which are in demand in the time of peace, to that extent the return of peace will find a number of industries both more fully and more adequately equipped than they were prior to the war. It is true that the distribution of capital in industry during the war has been imperfect when considered in relation to the requirements of peace. From that point of view some industries will have too much capital in fixed plant and buildings, and others will have too little. Then in another direction war expenditure has not been all lost. Neutrals who have been supplying belligerents with food, munitions, and other supplies have increased their trade, and they have been adding to their capital at an increased rate during the progress of hostilities. Hence it follows that one or two which were already lending nations in 1913 will be able to add to their annual exports of capital, if they desire to do so. Others, which had been formerly borrowing nations, will be in a position to supply a major proportion of their future needs for capital, but it is probable that not many will be transferred from the class to debtor, to that of creditor countries.

"When all is said it remains true that, if these grounds only be taken into consideration, capital would be exceedingly scarce. Granting that neutrals will be so situated that they will have more to invest and that the war itself will have overcapitalized a few industries, there remain all the needs of making good war's destruction and postponed improvements in the belligerent countries and of meeting the balance of the demand of new countries. It is in this connection that several of the British Dominions are in danger of being great sufferers. Their exceedingly patriotic contribution of men and money have placed them at a serious disadvantage as contrasted with neutral nations which were in an approximately similar stage of economic development. Therefore, unless the Dominions can obtain capital to overtake a part of the arrears of development they are liable to find their progress arrested and their relative position as producers to have deteriorated as compared

with the Argentine. But it is fortunate that there is a way of escape from this suggestion, not indeed of stagnation, but of seriously arrested growth. There remains the possibility of increased saving being continued for a considerable period after the end of the war. 'For the duration of the war' was accepted as a species of abracadabra, which postponed, if it did not solve, all our most pressing difficulties. But no economic difficulty can be placed in cold storage, in the sense that it remains fixed and immobile till it is brought back to the outer air. The insistent call made by the needs of mankind always causes effort to be put forth to satisfy them, and, if one type of want is suppressed (though this is often difficult), other new wants arise to take its place."

The habit of saving, therefore, which was formed during the war, and which because it is a habit will tend to persist, receives a stimulation in the new needs that will be seen and felt on all hands. Thus this habit in itself "will be a material aid in the reconstruction of industry when peace returns."

REORGANIZATION RE-ORIENTED.

"Our industrial organism is as yet barely half alive; to reach its full development it must devise means of securing the harmonious co-operation of the full mental and physical energies of all the specialized human functions in production. As it is, man stands against nature with the better half of his powers unused, because he is divided against himself.

"And so one sees the vision of what the work of the world might be. Industrial production at present has no common mind, only hands. It has yet 'to find itself' in the sense of discovering it is not a mere process, but something much more than that. In order to reach its full development, it must succeed in awakening a general consciousness with a common will. Each worker requires to contribute his own special skill, and at the same time to recognize it as a part of the whole which he thereby aids in producing. As man in industry becomes reconciled to himself, it will be possible for him to advance to a degree of control over nature which will be much greater than that of the present. Thus there is a possibility of external things becoming in some dim future not merely tractable, but even malleable, to the mind and the will of man.

"This, it may be said, is economic idealism. And one ventures to say, why not? Is it not a mean view of economic study to confine it to classifying and analyzing phenomena, without endeavoring to see where its generalizations appear to be tending? The physical scientist points out where the things with which his special study is concerned are either used or not used to the best advantage. May not the economist try to show how in our present system much of human power is simply waste material? According to most of the thinking that has long been prevalent this may seem to be a reversal of the economic point of view and to be almost revolutionary. But if the conclusions be well founded, and if it is recognized that there is a great problem confronting our

whole industrial life, we should be more than half way towards the solution. In few cases is the saying of Hesiod that the beginning is half the whole, more true; and, like other practical problems, the solution may prove easier than the mere recognition that there was a problem for which a solution was required. When the time comes and that solution has been discovered, the next generation may recognize it as a new industrial revolution, greater than that of the eighteenth century, for it will transform the relation of men to men, and not that of men to machines. And perhaps when some economic historian comes to write about it all at a later date, he will often pause to wonder why it was so long before it was noticed that so great a need existed."

IV.

BRITISH TRADE JOURNALS' COMMENTS ON PHASES OF RECONSTRUCTION.

To show how intimately reconstruction policies are seen to affect trade and commerce, in England, one needs but follow the editorial comments of such standard trade journals as *The Statist* and the *Board of Trade Journal*, of London. It appears, from these journals, that the leaders in planning after-war commercial developments are keenly alive to the fundamental importance of the labor question, the question of access to the land, and the problem of satisfying the people with some reform of the system of representation.

1. HIGH WAGES.

The first quotations which follow are from the *Board of Trade Journal*, London, March 22, 1917, p. 772. Article entitled, "Proposed Measures for the Development of British Trade. War Work of the Board of Trade."

"Sir Albert Stanley, president of the Board of Trade, in addressing the annual conference of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, which was held in London on 20th and 21st March, said in part:

"Turning to the problems that would arise after the war, Sir Albert said that it was the responsibility of the Board of Trade to frame their plans so that post-war problems might be successfully and adequately met. It was the intention of the Board to establish such an organization as would secure that end. Perhaps the most important of the post-war problems was that of the relations of capital and labor. It seemed to him that it was all to the advantage of the employers and of the country that what were termed high wages should continue after the war. The world of industry would be very different in the future from what it had been in the past; material conditions would be much harder, belligerent countries would be poorer in resources, taxation would be heavy, and competition for overseas markets would be infinitely more severe than ever before. But, if the new methods of industry and the new possibilities of co-operation taught by the war were heeded, he thought that the productive power of the

United Kingdom would be more than equal to the strain which would be put upon it. The government could and must help a good deal more in the future than it had in the past, but acts of Parliament alone would not secure the desired results. Those responsible for industry must supply not only the needs of this country, but be prepared to meet competition over the seas by producing goods at a cost which would compare favorably with those of their competitors."

[A British Trade Corporation was to be set up to secure large credits for developing trade abroad. He invited banks generally to become shareholders in it. He called attention to the need of maintaining certain "Key Industries." Also called attention to the need of development of the generation of electricity. Commission appointed on that subject also.]

2. INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

The Statist,⁴ London, August 11, 1917, pp. 245-246, had an editorial on "Industrial Unrest," commenting on the report of the Commission of Inquiry into industrial unrest. The editor says they (the commission) conceived their function too narrowly—they inquired only into union labor conditions. Not into non-union industrial labor, or into agricultural labor, or into that most distressing fourth class, occasional labor, waifs, etc.

He agrees with findings so far as union labor is concerned, and reinforces the argument of the commission that the only remedy lies in the creation of a partnership status for labor. He says: "The only definite and complete remedy is to be found by taking the whole body of employees, whether they are paid wages or salaries, into a partnership which admits them to a knowledge of the secrets and gives them a vote in regard to the policy to be adopted. A large number of employers have been coming round to this view of recent years. But the war has converted numbers of others who were antagonistic formerly, and now a very considerable number of the most capable and most enlightened employers recognize that the admission of the working classes into partnership is the only complete remedy for existing ill-feeling."

The striking thing about the article is that it shows the editor to be in hearty accord with the findings of the commission, even in its most radical proposals concerning a partnership of labor and employers.

3. LABOR.

In its issue of July 7, 1917, Vol. 90, 1, p. 12, *The Statist* comments editorially on "Labour and the Government." The editor says: "The doctrine that high wages are really the most profitable to employer, as well as to employed, has long been taught. For instance, the eminent contractor, Mr. Brassey, not

only taught so, but acted upon the principle. Now it is sincerely to be hoped that the capitalist class generally will study the matter in an earnest desire to arrive at the truth. Many men, estimable in almost every other respect, are so wedded to the established beliefs in which they have grown up that they are incapable of changing their opinions. It is little use to address ourselves to these. But the majority of employers are men of sound common sense, who honestly desire to do what is fair to all parties. They must be thoroughly aware that the past three years have completely revolutionized our economic conditions, and that when the war is over there will be problems of the most serious gravity to be faced and to be settled in some way or other. The future of the Empire will depend upon the settlement. And, therefore, it is of the highest importance that the question should be honestly faced as to the influence of high wages upon the course of trade. We are here giving no opinion or presuming to lecture our readers. We are simply pointing out to them that a very grave conflict is threatening us; that the government has pursued a course of policy which unquestionably favors the conclusion that high wages are the best in the end; and, therefore, that the working classes have an exceedingly strong argument for what they intend to press with all their might. The course of the war has proven that there are few things more fatal than refusal to prepare in time. The whole of the capitalist class have now warning, or, rather we should say, a mass of warnings, that the question of high wages will be pressed with all the authority of organized labor, and that, therefore, patriotism, self-interest, and good sense all urge the employers of labor to study, with an earnest desire to arrive at the truth of the whole question, the bearing of the rate of wages upon both production and profits." [Article opened with account of address of President O'Grady of General Federation of Trades Union.]

4. THE LAND.

If the editor of *The Statist* favors a liberal policy respecting labor, he also favors a liberal policy with respect to the land problem, as is shown by the quotation from his editorial of July 28, 1917, pp. 135-136, on "Home Production of Food." He says: "We want, then, a complete revolution of our land system. We do not in the least want to fix prices, and especially to fix wages. We want the whole soil accessible to every man and woman who is willing to toil upon it and to produce the largest possible supply for the whole population. We want intelligence on the part of our workers, an intelligence that will guide them in turning to the best account whatever lands they propose to cultivate, and we want security to the cultivators. We want a clean and sheer sweeping away of the present land system; the planting upon the soil of as large a cultivating population as can be supported upon it with at least decency. We want, then, skilful scientific cultivation with a view to the benefit of the whole population. And it is the aim that the working classes ought to set themselves seri-

⁴ This is the organ of Sir George Paish, who has been adviser to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the British Treasury on financial and economic questions, and who at the moment of our participation in the war was sent to America by his government on a financial mission.

ously to bring about if they mean to prolong indefinitely the prosperity and the greatness of the United Kingdom."

How to bring these changes about is a serious problem, and not to be answered offhand. The writer lays down a few propositions: (1) Landowners should not be "reduced to indigence" in the process of reform. (2) Fair security for those investing money in land. (3) "Thirdly, it is perfectly clear that in settling a new agricultural population on the land they should be ensured a certain degree of security. To ask a man either to invest his capital, or to commit his whole future to the cultivation of the land; and, at the same time, to leave him liable to be turned out at the option of anybody is a proposition so absurd that anybody who makes it ought to be hooted out of decent society. Furthermore, there should be as much care taken as in our present state of education is possible to ensure that those who settle upon the land shall be fairly intelligent, that they shall either have a knowledge of agriculture, or else that they shall be provided with unquestionable means of acquiring the knowledge; that, therefore, they shall, if they are willing to work earnestly, have the opportunity to learn how to work profitably, and how to work securely against disturbance. Lastly, there ought to be a means provided for getting rid of utterly incompetent agriculturists. The man who is either too lazy or too drunken to work as he ought to work, should receive no pity, though means ought to be provided that his family, if he has any, should not be pauperized because of his misconduct. Pauperism is almost the worst of all evils except avoidable disease."

5. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

In *The Statist* of July 7, 1917, p. 13, occurs an editorial on "Proportional Representation," from which we quote the following: "The innate dislike of change, as change, so common amongst Englishmen, is well illustrated by the rejection on Wednesday of the proposal that a trial should be given to proportional representation. Nobody except a fool really believes that proportional representation would cure all the defects of our present representative system. But most persons with the ordinary amount of common sense recognize that our present system is so bad that it is exceedingly desirable that experiments should be made in the hope of improving it."

V.

DAWSON AND CROMER'S "AFTER THE WAR PROBLEMS."

A somewhat elaborate collection of essays on reconstruction was issued at London, in 1917, under the editorship of William Harbutt Dawson. It is called "After War Problems," by the Earl of Cromer, Viscount Haldane, the Bishop of Exeter, Prof. Alfred Marshall, and others. From this volume two items are here given: (1) A portion of Mr. Dawson's Introduction, which is well written and which expresses the spirit and attitude of British reconstructionists. (2) A summary, with liberal quo-

tations, of Lord Cromer's chapter on "Imperial Federation." This view of the federation problem, by one of the great conservative politicians and administrators of the British Empire, is worthy the study of American teachers and students. It illustrates the saying that Britain has made governing a *fine art*.

This volume is divided into four parts under the sub-titles: 1. Empire and Citizenship. 2. National Efficiency. 3. Social Reform. 4. National Finance and Taxation.

Part 1, Empire and Citizenship, contains a paper on "Imperial Federation," by the Earl of Cromer; one on "The State and the Citizen," by Bishop Well-ton; one on "The Cultivation of Patriotism," by the Earl of Meath, and one on "The Alien Question," by Sir H. H. Johnston.

Part 2, National Efficiency, is made up of eight distinct papers, as follows: "National Education," by Viscount Haldane; "Organization of the National Resources," by Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P.; "The State and Industry," by Dr. W. Garnett; "The State and Labor," by Prof. S. J. Chapman; "The Relations Between Capital and Labor": (1) "The Standpoint of Labor," by G. H. Roberts, M.P.; (2) "The Standpoint of Capital," by Sir Benjamin C. Browne; "The Land Question," by W. Joynson-Hicks, M.P.; "The Position of Women in Economic Life," by Mrs. Fawcett.

Part 3, Social Reform, has five papers, as follows: "The Rehabilitation of Rural Life," by the Bishop of Exeter; "Housing After the War," by Henry R. Aldrige; "National Health," by James Kerr, M.A., M.D., D.P.H.; "The Care of Child Life," by Margaret McMillan; "Unsolved Problems in the English Poor Law," by Sir William Chance, Bart., M.A.

Part 4, National Finance and Taxation, contains two papers. The first, "National Taxation After the War," by Professor Alfred Marshall; and, the second, "National Thrift," by Arthur Sherwell, M.P.

In his Introduction, the editor says: "The ordeal which the nation has been called to face has evoked an outburst of moral energy without parallel in the history of the British race. Shall the moral forces now in action be demobilized in county and city, in town and hamlet, when the struggle is over? Must they not rather be preserved in being, as a standing army for the service of the national life, to do battle everywhere against the enemies within our own gates? Nobly have the nation's manhood and womanhood responded to the call of duty. Soon there will come to those who have done great deeds on the high plane the chance of proving a like heroism and devotion in the trivial round and common task of social and civic service. Is it a misuse of words to say that when the war abroad is over the war at home will only begin? We may conquer Germany, emancipate Belgium, and free Europe and mankind from the menace of malign ambitions, yet if the war does not win for the homeland likewise the things so supremely necessary to its welfare and peace we shall have fought and suffered and sacrificed in vain.

"The call comes from the graves of the dead that we falter not in this high purpose. Who can think without emotion of those gallant youths, the flower of the nation's life, whose eager faces were turned to the future with hope and ardor, who yet at the call of duty forsook all else that was precious to them on earth, and whose bodies now lie beneath unnumbered mounds on the fields of Flanders, the hillsides of Gallipoli, and the deserts of the more distant east? They died, we say, for England, those brave lads, fresh from school and college and home. Rather, they died for two Englands—the England which we know, with all its social evils, that shame our culture, baffle our morality and make our national greatness seem a cruel mockery; yet perhaps more truly, if not more consciously, for another England altogether, an England that lives as a 'vision splendid' in the imagination of all true-hearted youths—an England of cleaner life, sweeter manners, purer laws and happier homes, the England of their hopes, ideals, and longings. They have not lived to recreate that England, but the thought of their loss to us would be appalling were it possible that their aspirations should be quenched like smoking flax and their dreams perish and pass with them unrealized into the stillness of the unknown. Rather should our duty to the dead serve as the measure of our responsibility to the living. Thus and thus only will England pay her due debt to those who have fallen for her sake, and prove that she was worthy of the sacrifice."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Lord Cromer begins this chapter with the statement: "The predominating feature of modern political thought in the domain of international affairs is unquestionably the idea of nationalism." He then turns to discuss the question of the possibility of harmonizing nationalism with imperialism, and finds this possibility in the principle of federation.

Raising the question why federation has remained so inchoate within the British Empire, he finds the reason largely in the geographical distribution of British colonies and possessions, and the great distance of each from the mother land. But he recognizes that some progress towards federation has been made, and he attempts to show by what means further progress in the same direction can be achieved.

Proclaiming himself a convinced free trader—convinced, that is, of the economic soundness of the doctrine of free trade, he comes nevertheless to the position that after the war tariff laws will prove absolutely necessary. In other words, he is prepared to concede something to political necessity even when that political necessity runs counter to economic principles. The first step he would take in applying the principle of tariff which, in some respects, he thinks would be productive, is in what is termed a preferential arrangement between the several colonies and dependencies and Great Britain. But he adds this important caution, namely: that "if a preference is to be accorded to the colonies, it will be imperative that the difference between the duty on colonial produce

and that of a similar nature which comes from foreign countries should not be so great as to give rise to a revival of the abuses and evasions of the past."

He thinks it very important to consider with care the question of the extent to which the self-governing colonies should make contributions to the defense of the Empire, and he thinks this should be determined in each particular case by negotiation.

The next question considered is as to how far the colonies are to participate in shaping the foreign policy of the Empire. This would turn perhaps in part on the varying proportions which they would contribute to the support of the army and navy, and would raise the very complex and difficult question of constitutional reorganization. Adverting to the agitation against "secret diplomacy" which has been going on since the outbreak of the war, Lord Cromer confesses that he believes it to be largely beside the mark: that secret diplomacy so far as Great Britain was concerned was not the nefarious thing it was described to be. "So far," he says, "as British diplomacy is concerned, I can speak, perfectly untrammelled by official obligations and with a quarter of a century's experience of the methods adopted by the foreign office, declare very positively that these notions constitute a complete delusion. They are based on false and haphazard conjectures, and on the old erroneous supposition that the traditions of the eighteenth century diplomacy, albeit they survive to this day at Berlin and Vienna, are still current in Downing Street.

"As a matter of fact, those traditions have long since been banished from British official life. British diplomacy may at times have been inept, but for many a long year it has been scrupulously honest, perfectly able to stand, without shrinking, the light of the utmost publicity, and wholly in conformity with the aspirations and moral standards adopted by an advanced democracy."

Nevertheless, Lord Cromer believes that British diplomacy has been secret to a degree that has been unwise, and this particularly because of the effect of secrecy upon the attitudes of the peoples of the self-governing colonies. The views of these peoples must be respected; moreover, they must be shown a degree of confidence not hitherto bestowed upon them. In the colonies "the will to co-operate" exists. The great question is how to secure the desired co-operation. This question is full of practical difficulties.

The fundamental principle is clear. He states it in these words: "It is essential that if the governments of the dominions are to be taken seriously into council they should be in a position to watch the operations in the whole field of foreign policy during normal times, and this they cannot do unless they are kept well informed. Broadly speaking, there are two methods by which consultation with the dominions can be secured. One is to associate them to a greater extent than at present with the executive action of the British government. The other is to go farther afield, to change the whole constitution of the British Empire, and, by some legislative amalga-

tion, to enable the people of each separate imperial unit to make their voices heard by adopting the normal and habitual proceedings common under all democratic forms of government." He believes that the first of these methods is the less difficult of execution. It would require only the establishment of a special department at the foreign office for keeping the "representatives of the dominions fully informed of everything of importance that passes in connection with foreign affairs, leaving it to them, at their discretion, to inform the dominions' ministers either by mail or telegraph as occasion might demand.

A further development of the same idea would be to establish an imperial council made up of colonial appointees and British ministers to sit in London, and to have the right to consult and advise with the government. To this plan it is doubtful if the colonial ministers would consent, because it would mean in practise the delegation of some part of ministerial power to the representatives sitting at London. An expression of opinion on the part of the colonies with reference to this plan he thinks ought to be secured at the close of the war.

The other alternative—an imperial parliament—Lord Cromer regards as a very drastic reform. The difficulties to be overcome in bringing it about are so formidable that he doubts its practicability at the present time. If, however, nothing further is possible the imperial conference already established by precedent, should hereafter meet every two years instead of every four years.

As to India, he is convinced that that country is not yet ripe for complete self-government, and the same judgment he passes on the cases of Egypt and the Soudan. He thinks that in India it will be possible step by step to grant a measure of self-government to the provinces "until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of imperial concern."

VI.

PLANS OF THE MINISTER OF RECONSTRUCTION.

In a speech in the House of Commons, on November 12, Dr. Addison, Minister in Charge of Reconstruction, made the following summary statement of the progress of reconstruction plans up to that time. The essential parts of the speech are here reprinted as reported in the *London Times* of November 13.⁵

We have had our people to a very large extent changed in their habits of life and occupation. The rate of wages is very much higher than it was before the war, and so are the prices of the necessities of life. In fact, we have been living on our capital during the last four years. Suddenly there is a cessation of hostilities, to be followed, we hope, by the signing of a peace treaty. From now onwards people will be returning to their homes. They will have

to shed their war habits and get back, perhaps, to their old work. But I think the high prices will continue, and that therefore there must be high wages if the present cost of living is to be met. High wages mean that we must have great production; otherwise it will be impossible to pay them. With all the changes attending demobilization coming, as they must in a few months, we must contemplate the inevitable reaction of the cessation of war. It is my duty to ascertain so far as I can what steps we can take beforehand to deal with the emergency.

We must aim at the restoration of our trade and industry as rapidly as possible. If we are to pay for the war we must aim at better methods of production, better conditions of life, and making a better use of all our resources. We must recognize the danger that may arise in time of peace from bureaucratic methods. We cannot seek to promote the rapid restoration of industry by particular state interference. If we are going to make the best use of the resources of the country in water power, for instance, it behooves us to consider our Parliamentary methods of dealing with these questions.

THE CHANGE OF OCCUPATION.

He proceeded to say that he had asked the Ministry of Munitions some months ago to prepare him a report on the state of employment in the metal and chemical trades, and it appeared that 70 per cent. of the men and 40 per cent. of the women were still engaged on work of a kind for which there would be a civilian demand after the war. That made the problem much easier. Incidentally he paid a tribute to the help received from the various departments, and said that, although there had been a good deal of shallow talk about the rivalries of departments, it had not come his way to any material extent during the past twelve months. In round figures there would be about a million people who would require to change their occupation with the cessation of war manufactures. To turn over a factory from war work to peace work was not a matter of days. It might be a matter of a year or fifteen months. They would not solve the problem of the employment of displaced munition workers by expecting to employ them in the same factory. In the main they would not be absorbed there. What they had to look to was to restore the basic industries of the country which had been shut down and which were capable of absorbing the great proportion of this labor. An employer had told him the other day that he proposed to turn over one of his munition shops to another kind of manufacture, and that he anticipated that it would be fifteen months before he could begin work on the new kind of manufacture. That was not, in the main, the way in which the displaced workers would get employment, for the first few months anyhow.

As to the steps the Government had taken to deal with the immediate difficulty he said that, whatever might be done by the Ministry of Munitions . . . , there must come a time, sooner or later, when the work in the shops would cease in order that the shops might be turned over to other employment, in order to

⁵ Reprinted from *The Nation*, New York, January 25, 1919.

give time for the transformation. There would be this million people moving; there would be the whole of the demobilized forces—between four and five millions—to deal with. The Government were confronted with the difficulty that they could not set up the machinery during the war because they would not be able to draw men from the army. They had, therefore, to leave in the army a number of people whose services were invaluable in the process of finding work, helping the labor exchanges, and other organizations concerned. The first thing they did when the armistice was practically certain was to arrange with the War Office for the withdrawal of what might be called the “demobilizers” from the army into the service at home. These were the people who were to assist in the process of demobilization, to start the exchanges and the rest of it. Incidentally he would point out that that part of the scheme involved the issue of a free railway pass to any person who had changed his or her address for the purpose of taking up work on munitions or on navy or army contracts, and who desired to take up work elsewhere.

Public opinion and the press could help the Government very much in this work. There were at the present time in war work a very large number of people who were not dependent on that work for a livelihood. He thought that it would be fair to ask them to stand aside for the time being in favor of those who were dependent on industry for their living, and employers and those employed could assist in this direction in every part of the country. It was clear that, whatever they did, they must provide for an interval of unemployment. He hoped and believed that interval would be a small one. Difficulty arises not through incidental variations of trade, but through national circumstances. Cessation of war work was a national affair, not an incident of any particular trade, and therefore there was a national responsibility. They had to remember that when they had an insurance scheme based upon industry, those industries which had contributed most to the war requirements would be the most hit. Therefore the Government had decided to make provision for such unemployment as might occur during the coming months. For some time past the Government had had under consideration the necessity of introducing a universal contributory scheme of unemployment insurance for a term of years, to cover the whole period of resettlement. This measure being of a far-reaching character and necessitating full consultation with the industries of the country, could not at the present stage be applied to the circumstances which must arise in the near future, and which the Government's non-contributory scheme was intended to meet. Nevertheless, it was the intention of the Government to press forward with such a measure and to introduce it as early as possible.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEME.

The scheme of out-of-work donation for ex-service men and civilian workers was as follows: *Civil workers.* The scheme would be in operation for six months from a date to be appointed during which

the maximum period for which donation might be paid to any individual would be thirteen weeks. *Soldiers, etc.* The soldier would be entitled to out-of-work donation during the twelve months following his demobilization for a maximum period not exceeding 26 weeks. The total period for which the scheme, so far as civil workers is concerned, would apply is six months from a given date. In the case of a soldier the donation would begin to run from the day he personally was demobilized, whenever that might be. *Rates of Benefit* (ex-Service men and civil workers). Adults: 24s. per week for men; 20s. per week for women; 6s. for the first dependent child (under 15); 3s. for each succeeding dependent child. Juveniles: over 15 and under 18 years of age, 12s. per week for boys and 10s. per week for girls.

A note appended to the scheme stated (1) the donation would not be payable for the first three days of any continuous period of unemployment; (2) the out-of-work donation payable to partially disabled men in receipt of pensions would be additional to their pensions, and no deductions would be made in respect of such pensions; (3) in the case of juveniles the donation would be payable on the fulfilment of the conditions generally attaching to the payment of unemployment benefit, except that in addition they would be required to attend a course of instruction approved by the President of the Board of Education or other central department concerned; (4) payment of contributions under the existing compulsory scheme of unemployment insurance will continue. As regards receipt of benefit under this scheme, insured work people would not be allowed to draw simultaneously both the benefit under this scheme and the free unemployment donation. There were other provisions. With regard to the arrangements for juveniles, the instruction might be given in the employers' work-rooms if a satisfactory scheme of instruction was arranged. A number of employers had informed them that they would be glad to have classes in their works in order to keep the young hands together. The Government proposed to meet the whole cost of the educational courses for the first six months, and for the second six months the cost of those courses would be borne equally, half by the Treasury and half by the local authority.

DEMobilIZATION PLANS.

The Government has adopted as its fundamental principle that demobilization, subject to military needs, must be governed by industrial requirements and broad social considerations. It is important, in the first instance, that those who are now serving with the colors, whose services will be needed to carry out the actual plan of demobilization, should be at their posts well in advance of the actual beginning of demobilization. Those “demobilizers,” as they are called, will therefore return first.

In the next place, it must be remembered that some of the industries of the country have been deprived of the services of men whose return will be essential before employment can be provided for a large number of returned soldiers. It would be folly to

bring back into civil life a large body of workers unless the pivotal men were already in their places and the earlier links in the chain of production complete. Full inquiries have been made to ascertain who are the individuals upon whose speedy release the resumption of normal production depends. These pivotal men will be brought back at the earliest possible moment. With the return of the "demobilizers" and pivotal men we shall secure the smooth working of the machinery of demobilization and the preparation of industry for the absorption of the returned soldiers.

As to the general body of soldiers the general rule would be that those who had places waiting for them would return before those who had no definite prospects. Such men whose jobs were definitely waiting for them on their return would be demobilized in accordance with a scheme of priority. The Ministry of Labor was preparing a priority list of industrial groups, placing them in the order of their national importance from the point of view of the re-establishment on a peace basis of the essential industries. Other considerations, however, had not been overlooked—for example, within each group preference would be given to married men over single men. Commanding officers would make up their drafts in accordance with the instructions they received with regard to priority. Men who were abroad would be sorted out into parties for various concentration camps which would serve certain dispersal areas at home. At these dispersal stations they would only be retained for a few hours, and they would then proceed to their homes, which would be in the neighborhood of the dispersal station. They would receive a protection certificate, a railway warrant home, and a cash payment, together with an out-of-work donation policy. The soldiers would then be entitled to 28 days' furlough, during which time they would receive pay and ration allowance, and the separation allowance would at the same time be continued. At the expiration of the furlough the men would be finally demobilized. . . . Although unable to state the exact number of men which it would be possible to demobilize each day, he assured the House and the country that the process would be carried on at a rapid rate, and the Government would take every possible step to demobilize the army at the earliest possible moment.

APPRENTICES.

It was proposed that state assistance should be given in respect of apprentices whose apprenticeship had been interrupted by war service. No grant was to be payable under the scheme in respect of an apprentice unless he had reached the age at which he would normally have completed his apprenticeship, provided that in no case should such age exceed 23 years in Scotland and 21 years elsewhere; and it would not be payable in respect of an apprentice who was in the last year of his apprenticeship when called up for service. No scheme of training would be approved unless the unexpired period of apprenticeship was reduced by at least one-third. The employer would pay in wages to the apprentice not less than

seven-twelfths during the first 12 months, and not less than two-thirds during the second 12 months (if any) of the total of the current standard rate, plus war bonus. The sum payable by the State would be the difference between the weekly wage payable by the employer and three-fourths during the first 12 months, and five-sixths during the second 12 months (if any) of the total of the current standard rate, plus war bonus. In no case would the grant be payable for a period exceeding two years. Where in the opinion of the Minister of Labor it was desirable that an apprentice should receive whole-time training in a technical school, a maintenance grant not exceeding 27s. 6d. per week might be paid for a maximum period of 40 weeks, in lieu of the state assistance. The Ministry of Labor would be empowered to pay such fees as might be approved by the Board of Education or other Government departments regulating fees, for apprentices attending technical schools under an approved scheme. The Minister of Labor should have power at any period during the course of training to discontinue or vary any such grants, fees, or maintenance allowances, if in his opinion the training which was being given was not of a satisfactory nature. Any such action in connection with schemes involving attendance at a technical school, or involving training subject to inspection by an educational authority, should also be approved by the Government Department for Education concerned.

OFFICERS' RESETTLEMENT.

The Government had accepted the general principle that from the beginning of demobilization and for a year after, permanent appointments in the Civil Service should be reserved for ex-officers and ex-soldiers. As the rigid application of this rule, however, would exclude certain candidates with special qualification, it was intended that the rule should not apply (a) to the relatively small number of posts requiring technical qualifications or involving special responsibility; (b) to a limited number of cases in which men pronounced unfit on grounds of health for general service had been temporarily employed, and were specially recommended by heads of departments. In this case it was intended that absence of military service must be balanced by positive merit. It was recognized that the further training or education of young ex-officers in various callings, or men not officers who had interrupted their training in those callings, was a matter in which the Government had responsibility; and the War Cabinet had agreed to the principles of a scheme whereby, where circumstances required, assistance with respect to fees and maintenance could be given on the recommendation of the Training Committee, to enable men in those classes to complete their training. The details of the scheme proposed would be announced very shortly.

The repatriation of the families of British subjects from overseas who had served in the war was a further matter in which the Government recognized their responsibility for giving assistance, and details of this scheme also will be made public shortly. It was intended that the Military Service (Civil Liabilities)

Department, with an Advisory Committee, should be continued in existence after the termination of the war, so that financial assistance subsequent to demobilization might be given in accordance with a scheme based on the existing regulations of this department. Thus assistance might be granted to any officer or man who was unable, by reason of his undertaking military service, to meet his financial obligations after demobilization, and was thereby exposed to serious hardship. The obligations in respect of which assistance might be granted should be those arising in respect of rent, interest, and instalments payable in respect of loans, including mortgages, instalments payable under agreements for the purchase of business premises, a dwelling-house, furniture, and the like, rates and taxes, insurance premiums, school fees. Referring to one-man businesses, he said it would be within the discretion of the Department to make a grant, either in the form of a lump sum or by quarterly or other instalments; and if in any particular case the Department was of opinion that, in lieu of assistance in respect of specific obligations, it was desirable that assistance should be given for the purpose of enabling applicants to purchase stock-in-trade or shop-fittings, a grant might be given for that purpose. In connection with demobilization the Government had to consider the demand for opportunities of access to the land. . . . The only way of dealing with the physical difficulty of demobilization was to pool our storage capacity. An executive authority had worked out a scheme under which there would be a pooling of storage on certain lines of traffic, so that other lines might be freed as quickly as possible for commercial and trade purposes.

DISPOSAL OF WAR STORES.

The disposal of war stores was a problem which had engaged anxious thought. They would all desire at the conclusion of the war not to incur any more scandals than could be avoided. If all kinds of people dealt with stores, without any relation to one another or any common policy, the likelihood of blunders would be increased. It had, therefore, been agreed that one authority must be responsible, delegating so far as might be judged desirable through existing supply departments. All kinds of estimates had been received as to the value of the stores. If he were to strike an average the figure would reach about £500,000,000. He hoped more would be realized. The Government had accepted in principle a recommendation that a Ministry of Supply should act as the centre of authority. With regard to the rapid restoration of trade, he said he had asked the advice of different groups of gentlemen who had worked hard in giving help. They had to say, first, what were likely to be the requirements of the country after the war. He was glad to say that the position was better than he would have expected. Some time ago he had recommended that a body should be set up, charged with responsibility for the promotion and production of raw materials in our Dominions generally, and an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau had now been at work for a considerable time. A depart-

ment which had been at work on the subject of the development of our resources at home had made some very promising suggestions respecting Ireland, and he hoped the Irish members would devote a great deal of attention to the mineral resources of their country. A scheme had been worked out for the stimulated production of materials needed in the building trade. The whole matter was to be managed by the trade itself. Employers, workmen, and architects had all been consulted. The next step had been to consider how to secure the necessary supplies beforehand, and a committee presided over by the Colonial Secretary had had the matter in hand for some time, and in the main the position was more satisfactory than he could have expected. The Shipping Controller, who was in touch with all this work of supplies of raw material, had prepared a tonnage program which, he believed, was already in operation. The Controller hoped to issue in about ten days' time a revised freight rate (*ex war risk*), which was very necessary to give security. The tonnage program was drawn up on essential raw materials exclusively; he was not speaking of luxuries.

STOCKS OF MATERIALS.

The country will desire to know at the present juncture what stocks of raw material are available for peace production, and what preparation has been made to supplement these stocks by importation during the difficult year that lies before us. I will deal first with metals, especially those which are most vital to our industrial welfare—namely, iron ore, pig iron, and steel. There has been a great increase in our capacity for the utilization of home ore, and arrangements are being made by the Shipping Controller which will render it possible to import as large a quantity of foreign ore as was imported prior to the war. It is proposed to release iron and steel forthwith. The difficulties which may arise owing to the fact that, through the exigencies of war, the price of steel now stands at an artificial level, have not been overlooked, and it is intended to continue orders fixing for a period a maximum price for steel, though this may involve continuing some measure of Government assistance for that period.

With regard to other metals, I am glad to be able to assure the House that there is a sufficient supply available to render it possible to release some from control now, and nearly all the rest within six months. I am convinced, after a close survey of the position, that we shall be able to meet the demands which reconstruction will make on our resources. But while I am satisfied that there will be enough for all if it is equitably divided, there must be no selfish attempts on the part of individuals to secure more than their share, and for this purpose it may be necessary to take precautions against hoarding.

As to the question of national factories, he had often been asked what the Government were going to do with them after the war. A number were entirely state-owned, others were partially state-owned, and there were a large number of which the firms were really the owners. There were 115 of this class.

Then there were 25 factories serviceable for storage purposes. The conditions had been carefully examined, and in the case of certain factories it had been determined that it would be injudicious either to part with them or substantially alter them. As to factories which were considered redundant, offers for their utilization would be received. A great group had been reserved for storage purposes.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

A great opportunity presented itself before British traders, an opportunity which he hoped would be grasped by improved organization among themselves. There was vast room for it. But they could plan as they liked in regard to demobilization, the disposal of stores, and the allocation of orders and other matters, and if they had not industrial peace all their efforts would be in vain. He had explored the various avenues of approach to industrial peace, and

many of them ended in a blind alley. They would not get industrial peace by any Government restrictions. It was suggested that they should have a great meeting of labor leaders and employers to see if they could not evolve some plan. All his advisers were of opinion that it was no good to proceed that way. It would be a Babel. The interests of one trade were different from another, and you could not settle them all on a single plan. What they had to do was to strive to get organization in the industry, authoritative and representative, which would be able to settle these things for themselves. That was why they had set up the joint industrial councils. He ended on this note of the vital necessity of industrial peace because he was so satisfied from the review which he had made of the conditions which would come to us in the course of the next year or so, that if we had industrial peace we had a unique opportunity before our nation to make a better country, a country worthy of the men who had fought for us.

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